

**Young people's access to local authority instrumental  
music tuition in England: a historical and  
contemporary study**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis traces young people's ability to access local authority music service instrumental tuition in England from the Second World War to the present. It explores a range of social, economic, political and geographical factors that have impacted, and may continue to impact, on the provision and take-up of this tuition. The research adopts a Bourdieusian social praxeological framework and has been undertaken in two phases. Phase 1 is a historical documentary analysis of the development of local authority music services, with a contextualised focus on participation and perceived value. This identifies changing and persistent trends, concerns and assumptions within the views of educators, administrators and policy makers regarding access. Hidden barriers to music service tuition are noted to embrace family socio-economic status, family awareness of arts and culture, parental vehicle ownership, geographical distance from teaching/rehearsing sites, instrument size and weight, professionals' perceptions regarding pupils' home life and environment, school culture, and ethnic/cultural background of pupils. Phase 2 is an idiographic case study of instrumental tuition provision and its take-up within one local authority. The barriers identified during Phase 1 are explored in detail, with reference to underlying socio-economic, environmental and geographical factors. The selected local authority's particular circumstances led to its music service receiving unparalleled levels of government funding between 1999 and 2011 as part of the 'Music Standards Fund'. The then government's intention for this funding was to address a perceived decline in schools' instrumental tuition and to widen access. It came at a time of unprecedented political interest in all aspects of music making and learning. A novel feature of Phase 2 is the use of geospatial techniques including location quotients, tests for spatial autocorrelation and distribution. The conclusion considers how the issues raised might inform the debates surrounding the contemporary operation of Music Education Hubs. It also offers implications for future research.

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## Abbreviations

ABO	Association of British Orchestras
ABRSM	Associated Boards of the Royal Schools of Music
ACE	Arts Council England
AMMA	Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association
API	Application program interface
APS	Average point score
ASV	All subsets variable (selection)
BAME	black, Asian and minority ethnic
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BERA	British Educational Research Association
CEMA	Council for the Encouragement of the Arts
CoE	Church of England
CPD	Continuing professional development
CSV	Comma Separated Values (file format)
DBIS	Department for Business, Innovation and Skills
DCMS	Department of Culture, Media and Sport
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DES	Department for Education and Science
DF	Degrees of freedom
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfT	Department for Transport
DOB	Date of birth
e-GIF	E-Government Interoperability Framework
ERA	Education Reform Act (1988)
ERLQ	Ethnicity ratio location quotient
FE	Further education
FMS	Federation of Music Services
FSM	Free school meals
FTE	Full time equivalent
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GIS	Geographical Information System
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspector
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
ILQ	Instrument location quotient
IMD	Indices of Multiple Deprivation
INSET	In-Service Education and Training
IoE	Institute of Education, London (now part of University College London)
ISM	Incorporated Society of Musicians

ISME	International Society of Music Education
IT	Information technology
KS	Key Stage
LEA	Local Education Authority
LMG	Lindeman-Merenda-Gold (post-hoc $R^2$ decomposition method)
LMS	Local management for schools
LQ	Location quotient
LSOA	Lower layer super output area
MAUP	Modifiable areal unit problem
MBE	Member of the Order of the British Empire
MORI	Market and Opinion Research International
MRI	Magnetic resonance imaging
MRS	Market Research Society
MSF	Music Standards Fund
MSOA	Middle layer super output area
MySQL	Open source relational database management system software
NA	Not applicable
NACCCE	National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education
NAME	National Association of Music Educators
NaPTAN	National Public Transport Access Nodes
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
NFMY	National Festival of Music for Youth
NHS	National Health Service
NMC	National Music Council
NOP	National Opinion Polls
NPME	National Plan for Music Education
NPO	National Portfolio Organisation
OA	Output Area
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares (regression technique)
ONS	Office for National Statistics
ONSPD	Office for National Statistics Postcode Directory
p	Significance level
Perl	Practical Extraction and Report Language
PGCE	Postgraduate certificate of education
PHF	Paul Hamlyn Foundation
PRS	Performing Rights Society
PST	Primary-secondary transfer (measure)
QGIS	Quantum Geographical Information System
R	Statistical computer programming language
RC	Roman Catholic
RMS	Rural Music Schools
RMS	Root mean square

SCAM	Standing Conference for Amateur Music
SEN	Special education needs
SEND	Special education needs and disability
SFR	Statistical first release
SIT!	Save Instrumental Teaching!
SQL	Structured Query Language
SRLQ(L)	Service reach location quotient (location)
SRLQ(T)	Service reach location quotient (time or term)
TES	Times Educational Supplement
TTY(P)	Total tuition years (per participant)
TTY(S)	Total tuition years (school)
TYT	Two years of tuition (measure)
UKCMET	UK Council for Music Education and Training
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
VA	Voluntary aided (school)
VAT	Value added tax
VIF	Variable inflation factor
WCET	Whole Class Ensemble Teaching (scheme)
WO	Wider Opportunities (scheme)



## Chapter 1 - Introduction

### Introducing local authority music services

In England, the term 'local authority' refers to the tier of local government responsible for the provision of a range of municipal services, including aspects of education. The jurisdiction of these authorities may be a single town, city or small urban area, or may correspond with a 'ceremonial county' (e.g. Cambridgeshire). Chapter 3 outlines in further detail how, in a bid to improve civilian and military morale in the Second World War, many local authorities appointed 'music advisers' to coordinate and promote local amateur music-making. Many authorities retained these advisers in peacetime, sharpening their focus on the provision of musical instrumental tuition to schools. Advisers were assisted by a growing band of 'peripatetic' music teachers, recruited to travel between schools providing free or low-cost instrumental tuition *alongside* any music education that might be part of the school's classroom curriculum. In addition, local youth orchestras, wind bands, choirs and jazz orchestras were instituted, with rehearsals taking place in evenings and at weekends.

These pioneering advisers and teachers may have been moving with the spirit of the times, but the provision of instrumental tuition remained (and remains to this day in England) a non-statutory responsibility for local authorities. In the face of post-war austerity demand for tuition was rarely met by supply, and before long, various 'selection processes' were employed to filter the numbers of young people coming forward to those perceived as 'most deserving'. Recent developments in psychology often came to the rescue, with various psychometric musical aptitude tests appearing in the early 1950s (Pitts, 2000). Yet, alongside these *explicit* tests (which have now been subject to re-evaluation themselves, see McPherson and Hallam, 2009) some commentators began to note the presence of *implicit*, 'hidden' forms of selection relating to social class, schools attended, family finances and many other factors (e.g. Long, 1959). Yet without computer databases, data

protection legislation and equal opportunities monitoring, such concerns could never really be evidenced.

By the 1960s, local authority ‘music services’—into which these groups of advisers and peripatetic teachers had been organised and styled—were flourishing and musical performance expectations of pupils very high (Dalby, 1966; Cleave and Dust, 1989). This was the period in which many of the UK’s next generation of world-class musicians emerged, many of them later citing their local music service for initial inspiration and support:

Having benefited from a state education, I very much resent others not being able to do the same. All the people in [my ensemble] have come up through state education with peripatetic music teachers (Peter Maxwell Davies speaking in 1983, quoted in Cooper, 1985: 23).

Mills (1985) found that of 41% of orchestral musicians cited school-based instrumental experience as having influenced their career, whilst a survey of ten professional orchestras by the Association of British Orchestras (ABO) (1991) found that over half of respondents said they had received free instrumental tuition at some point whilst learning. Yet whilst there were undoubtedly opportunities and resulting personal and professional successes for some, there were growing acknowledgements in some quarters that these might come at the expense of opportunities for the many. A commonly repeated estimate over the years was that only around ten percent of the school population was in receipt of local authority instrumental tuition<sup>1</sup> at any one time (see Mainwaring, 1951; Bentley, 1975; Trodd, 1978; Paynter, 1982; Hallam, 1985, Thomson, 1989).

Despite some commentators continuing to express concerns about apparent inequities (sometimes in vociferous terms, e.g. Farmer, 1979), it was economics, and not changing social attitudes regarding equal opportunities, which first began to challenge conventional wisdom on music service practices. Despite their centrality in English musical life for much of the second half of the twentieth century, music service provision remained non-statutory throughout this period. A landmark court ruling in 1981, followed by

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this thesis, the term ‘local authority instrumental tuition’ is used as a shorthand for ‘local authority instrumental and vocal tuition’, except when vocal tuition requires separate treatment.

radical reform of local government and education policy in the 1980s and early 1990s, resulted in many services experiencing serious financial difficulties and is now estimated that approximately fifty closed down during this period (Annetts, 2010). Many others reduced provision or introduced significantly higher charges to parents and schools. Reflecting on these challenges in a major research report on music services, Hallam and Prince observed:

Those Instrumental Music Services in England that had survived the pressures of funding cutbacks over the last 25 years had responded to the need for change with creativity and ingenuity. Each had responded to local demands and the needs of schools, pupils, parents and the local community in such a way that each [service] is now unique. [Our] research showed that no two were identical in the combinations of structure, staffing, the nature of the services on offer, and funding mechanisms which were in operation (2000: 19).

The net result of such diversity was, of course, even greater inequities in young people's ability to access the remaining provision. In response, a group of high-profile musicians and educators lobbied the incoming 1997 Government, drawing on recent advances in neurological and psychological research to argue for the extra-musical benefits of musical engagement (e.g. Rauscher et al, 1993). This also coincided with political interest in the growth of the 'Creative Industries' as a means of supplementing GDP in the face of declining traditional manufacturing (e.g. NACCCE, 1999). This concerted effort was successful and the Government introduced the 'Music Standards Fund' (MSF) from January 1999 in order to both 'protect and expand' local authority music service provision.

The MSF was central government's first ever direct financial support for local authority music services, and the sums of money involved were large. Between 1999 and the end of the MSF in 2011, over three-quarters of a billion pounds was distributed to music services in England. Local authority bids were partially assessed on 'the number of young people benefiting from funded provision and 'the extent to which the bid improved equality of access to music services' (DfEE, 1998a: Section 27a). By the time of their follow up research study in 2002, Hallam *et al* were able to conclude:

The establishment of the Music Standards Fund had clearly enabled existing Music Services to stabilise and halted the decline in services which was in evidence prior to 1999. New services had developed as a result of the funding. In addition, the funding focused attention on the breadth of provision and the extent of access. This has increased inclusion and made it possible for LEAs to adopt and implement systematic remissions policies which were generally not in place in 1999 (Hallam *et al*, 2002: 11).

### **Personal motivations for the study**

As funding from the MSF was beginning to make an impact on music services' work 'on the ground', I was beginning a career as a music teacher (later to be head of department) in a 16-19 college in a highly socially and ethnically diverse, urban local authority in England (referred to throughout this thesis as the 'case study local authority'). It soon became clear that this particular authority had done particularly well from the MSF. At its inception in May 1997 the authority's music service (referred to throughout this thesis as the 'case study music service') employed 10 FTE staff but this figure was 47 FTE staff by June 2001 (Case Study Local Authority, 1997; 2001). Moreover, the number of young people in receipt of tuition had risen from 1,240 in April 1998 to 6,770 in June 2001 (Case Study Local Authority, 1997; 2001). Such expansion was possible thanks to this particular local authority receiving an allocation from the MSF representing £25.24 for each pupil in its schools. Nationally, the average per pupil allocation was £8.95.

Case study local authority records reveal a clear intention amongst the elected officials to create a service as diverse and accessible as possible. By 2002 this vision was recognised publicly by both Ofsted and the National Music Council (NMC) (Ofsted, 2002; NMC, 2002) Thus the authority could certainly be said to have responded proactively to the MSF impetus to widen participation and support social inclusion in instrumental music. Yet as a teacher in a college whose intake drew from twelve secondary schools across the town, it was clear that there remained inequities in the socio-ethnic profiles of the individual pupils coming forward to study music at GCE Advanced Level on the basis of instrumental experience. Such observations

led to anecdotal hypotheses that in order to break down apparently deep-rooted barriers to the case study local authority's music service provision:

- (1) more than just money was needed, since...
- (2) ...there may exist a range of 'hidden' factors which were impacting on some young people's ability to access and sustain engagement with this provision.

As outlined, these anecdotal hypotheses were in themselves not new. What *was* new was the possibility of testing these hypotheses through recourse to large quantities of operational data held by the case study music service and through the application of novel geospatial statistics.

Alongside my teaching role, I was also working part-time on a research project commissioned by a major London conservatoire. Through this work, I was introduced to the basic applications of geographical information systems (GIS) and geospatial statistics as a means of investigating just these kinds of hypotheses more formally. Using participant postcode data and a range of government geodemographic datasets, this simple study was able to identify the specific geographical areas in East London where the conservatoire's community outreach programme had been successful and less successful in attracting young musicians to participate (Welch *et al*, 2006).

With a growing awareness of the possibilities of these kinds of studies, together with a knowledge of formal methodologies available to support them, many further questions presented themselves regarding the relationship between young people's backgrounds, socio-cultural and geographical environments and their ability to access and sustain engagement with local authority instrumental tuition. Yet with these questions in mind, I was surprised to find that there had been no research that explored the ongoing impact of the MSF on engagement with local authority instrumental tuition at a local level, i.e. taking into account the impacts of these backgrounds, socio-cultural and geographical environments at a small scale of geographical resolution. This lack of research struck me as odd, since a key theme of government policy since 1997 had been to 'target'

resources at particular localities on the basis of perceived social, educational or economic need (a topic explored in more detail in Chapter 6):

Very few, if any, of these policy initiatives operate at the level of the city as a whole. Many are restricted to very small pockets within the city – often operating at the level of an individual housing estate or neighbourhood. The proliferation of various 'action zones' is an example of this. Education Action Zones, Health Action Zones, Sport Action Zones and Youth Music Action Zones are all based on the principle of giving additional resources to specified areas of particular need. So are the various 'neighbourhood' initiatives, such as Neighbourhood Management, Neighbourhood Nursery Centres and Neighbourhood Wardens (Goodwin, 2004: 174).

Given the economic climate in the latter half of the last decade and renewed concerns over national and local public service expenditure, it seemed to me important that we might have an accurate assessment of the impact of a major national initiative like MSF at the local level. Yet more than this, the MSF itself reflected deeper-rooted aspirations for music on behalf of policy makers. As is outlined in Chapter 5, the fund was established at a time of unprecedented political interest in all aspects of music making and learning. The MSF, and further related initiatives such as the Music Manifesto and Wider Opportunities (WO) all pointed to the fact that learning to play an instrument held a central position within current official conceptualisations of 'music education'. The clearest single articulation of this was New Labour's famous White Paper pledge made in 2001 that, 'over time, all primary pupils who want to will be able to learn a musical instrument' (DfES, 2001a: 12). This motivation has continued to drive the music education policy of successive UK Governments. The influential report *Music in England: A Review* by Darren Henley (Henley, 2011) (the 'Henley Review'), along with the Department for Education's response *The Importance of Music: A National Plan for Music Education* (DfE/DCMS, 2011) (the 'National Plan') sought to review current provision and map out government policy in the field until around 2020. One practical outcome of these has been the reorganisation of local authority music services into Music Education 'Hubs', tasked with ensuring that public funds are used to maximise the numbers of young people engaging practically with instrumental and vocal music-making and tuition.

## ***Social Praxeology and the development of a two-phase research methodology***

As detailed in Chapters 2 and 5, the case study music service consented to provide seven years of instrumental tuition records, complete with pupil postcodes, to enable me to begin to explore some of these many issues in depth. It was quickly clear that this data held enormous promise. Yet, on the other hand, its inherent richness meant it offered multiple analysis possibilities. Whilst I had already formed anecdotal hypotheses about what this data might reveal, I was aware that these hypotheses had been formed on the basis of *particular* experience in a *particular* place, at a *particular* time. Epistemologically, there was first a need to stand back and consider first what local authority music services and the instrumental teachers who worked for them sought to achieve and how these goals had come in to being.

Preliminary enquiries into these matters confirmed that in order to understand how a music service might respond to the diverse socio-demographic environment in which it now functioned, I would first need to understand complex institutional and professional practices that had evolved in, some cases, over many decades. It appeared that local authority instrumental tuition practice had become woven into the broader musical, political and educational life, and that music services' operations needed to be evaluated with this broader context.

From the professional music educator's perspective, the world of instrumental tuition has been characterised by slow evolution, with teachers sometimes continuing to practice pedagogies, and to hold beliefs, associated with *their* former teachers. Creech and Gaunt, for instance, note that despite:

advances in our understanding of effective learning and teaching, changing patterns of engagement with music, growing cultural diversity, and change relating to globalisation and technology', research suggests 'individual instrumental teaching has actually changed very little in response to these social influences (2012: 695).

One may also consider the UK 'conservatoire model' of one-to-one instrumental tuition, which has been highly influential on many who enter employment as local authority music service teachers (Priest, 1988).

From the musical learner's perspective, too, it was equally important that broader, familial factors are acknowledged. The centrality of the family and home environment as key sites for early musical experiences is now very well-recognised. Hallam's review of the music psychology literature concluded that, whilst there are exceptions:

having musical parents or a musical home environment influences participation and success in music. Families can play a role in the identification of talent and parents of high achievers tend to have very high expectations and are demanding in those expectations. The child seems to internalise these and achievement becomes a need in itself. The parents of high achievers also tend to be more involved in initial practice, attend lessons with their children, and receive and act upon feedback from the teacher. Practical help in taking pupils to concerts and providing financial support is critical (Hallam, S., 2010: 411).

An earlier study by Davidson *et al* (1996) noted that parents of advanced instrumental learners had often invested considerable time simply sitting with them during practise in the early stages of learning, even if they did not support this practise actively through any specialist knowledge of music. They concluded that the parents of persistent instrumental learners are 'far more involved in musical activity than the parents of the children who give up playing', but that it is the 'commitment to assist their child that is more important than a high level of musical competence' (p.44).

Initial inspections of the literature, such as those summarised above, suggested that the actions and experiences of current music service instrumental teachers and pupils may have been shaped and influenced by established familial, professional and institutional practices. More specifically, it appeared that many issues which had remained central to the debate regarding young people's ability to participate in instrumental tuition may be influenced by successive layers of social value and dominant musical, educational and political discourse built up over many years. In some cases,



this discourse seemed to be characterised by unspoken assumptions, confusion, slightly misplaced good intentions, hastily enacted and interpreted policy, not to mention powerful public lobbying by prominent musicians.

In Pierre Bourdieu's *social praxeology* (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) I found a conceptual 'lens' with the potential to bring considerable clarity to this apparently multidimensional, partially-obscured complexity. For Bourdieu, the strategies by which individuals exercise 'agency' against backdrops of social structures and culture are unconsciously shaped by 'habits, traditions, customs, beliefs, folklore and other cultural and social legacies' (Prasad, 2005: 196). Since many of these factors passed from generation to the next, Bourdieu regards them as socially reproduced and durable. In his view, they place individuals in positions of increasing domination or sub-domination over others, leading to more favourable and less favourable access to life chances, resources and opportunities. In response to these observations, Bourdieu developed *social praxeology* as a means of 'teasing out' the inherent complexities in relationships between different 'agents' in this complex social space. It is an approach, according to Prasad, that is 'particularly well suited to for the study of cultural and institutional arrangements, for it offers a way of examining historical and structural forces alongside individual strategies of social positioning' (2005: 203).

Bourdieu's emphasis on how historical, inherited cultural and social 'legacies' impact on individuals' ability to make choices, seek out opportunities and profit from life chances had clear applicability to the current study. Moreover, due to the inherent link between individual agency and prevailing social structures, Bourdieu's theory held the promise that in my role as researcher I might 'grasp particularity (the unique) with generality (the universal), and generality within particularity' (Everett, 2002: 71). This emphasis on relating the global to the local was again highly congruent with my aspiration to situate findings from an individual case study within a more general reading of the research field.

Bourdieu calls for 'methodological polytheism' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 30) and the researcher is free to make a choice amongst 'all the techniques that are relevant and practically usable' (ibid.). Bourdieu's own fieldwork revealed a highly eclectic range of research methods (Prasad, 2005). The justification for this 'polytheism', according to Everett (2002), lies in the researcher's need to try to attain the best 'vantage point' from which they can attempt to uncover hidden or hitherto undetected relations and structures within the social field under study. The argument goes that one is less likely to uncover 'hidden' aspects of one system by making *doxic* (i.e. unexamined, taken-for-granted) use of the tools from another system, i.e. that of a 'conventional' research methodology.

Fundamentally, however, irrespective of the methods the researcher chooses, Bourdieu is clear that they must begin by attempting to 'map' the research 'field' as comprehensively as possible (Everett, 2002; Prasad, 2005). In this way, they will 'focus on the origin of concepts and problems, acknowledge social and linguistic constructionism, and consider the differences between *a priori* theoretical codified knowledge and emergent practical knowledge' (Everett, 2002: 74). For Bourdieu, this is an ontological priority since it enables the researcher to 'construct' the 'pre-constructed' research object (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, cited in Everett, 2002). In the present study, this confirmed the need to complete a thorough reading of the history and development of local authority music services, not least because at present the literature lacks a comprehensive historical account of this provision from which I might have usefully drawn critical perspectives. As outlined in detail in Chapter 2, this was achieved through the use of a historical documentary analysis (McCulloch, 2011) and resulted in the findings presented in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

Importantly, unlike some other postpositive theorists, Bourdieu welcomes the use of quantitative methods, along with the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods (Everett, 2002). Within social praxeology, such approaches can have value 'in assessing the sheer amount of economic, institutional, and symbolic capital possessed by some groups and individuals' (Prasad, 2005: 203). Bourdieu himself used large-scale statistical procedures

within several empirical studies, contextualising these findings within broader qualitative readings of the field. Such approaches are consistent with his central argument that ‘facts and values are intrinsically joined’ (Everett, 2002: 73). Thus, the intention to conduct a geospatial statistical case study within the present research found strong methodological justification within a social praxeological framework. Phase 2 of the research thus became a way by which the direct impact of the MSF, along with shifts in broader social values and priorities that it represented, could be assessed within one, unusually well-funded case study.

To conclude, my fundamental intention in bringing together the two contrasting methods of historical documentary analysis and geospatial case study was to meet the essential social praxeological requirement to study social life as ‘being in relationships with a multitude of phenomena’ (Prasad, 2005: 197). In order to consider the specific nature of the relationships teased out at the micro level in Phase 2, it was first necessary to study these same relationships at the macro level in Phase 1.

### **Summary of research questions**

This doctoral research evolved over a period of ten years in response to my own changing personal and professional circumstances, developing skills as a researcher and GIS technologist, and regular developments in national music education policy. The result has been a very wide-ranging thesis in terms of scope, methodology and underlying philosophy. However, the overarching aims of the research can be summed up in the following five questions:

1. To what extent has the professional and institutional culture that has evolved within local authority music services promoted equality of opportunity?
2. What ‘hidden’ barriers have existed to limit young people’s access to local authority music service instrumental tuition?

3. Given its stated aim to increase and widen young people's participation in instrumental music tuition, to what extent was the MSF successful in ameliorating these hidden barriers at a national level?
4. Does a detailed case study of a music service which was particularly well-financed by the MSF offer evidence that these hidden barriers were ameliorated at the local level?
5. What implications can be drawn from the implementation of the MSF, both at a national and a local level, as music education policy continues to evolve in the era of music education 'hubs'.

## Chapter 2 – Methodologies

### Introduction: applying the conceptual tools of social praxeology

As outlined in Chapter 1, the application of an overarching social praxeological methodology led to two distinct phases in this research. Of central relevance in social praxeology are the notions of *field*, *capital* and *habitus*. Together these form 'Bourdieu's conceptual three-legged stool' (Everett, 2002: 65). Before considering the particular methods employed in each phase in detail, it is worth setting out how these three concepts in particular have informed the overarching conceptual lens for this investigation.

#### *Field*

As was noted in Chapter 1, a 'mapping of the field' is an essential first step for anyone undertaking Bourdieusian influenced research. Bourdieu himself uses the term 'field' to describe 'networks of social relations, structured systems of social positions within which manoeuvres take place over resources, stakes and access' (Bourdieu, 1990: 40, cited in Everett, 2002: 60). In terms of the present research, the 'field' can be broadly demarcated as embracing local authority music service instrumental tuition provision from 1945 to around 2015. However, Bourdieu wishes the researcher to focus in more detail, facilitating the identification of 'a whole set of actors and institutions that are directly and tangentially relevant for understanding specific social relationships' (Prasad, 2005: 198). To this end, Phase 1 aims to explore the perspectives of a wide range of individual and institutional stakeholders, including music service pupils, their instrumental teachers, scheme administrators, schools and politicians. Moreover, for Bourdieu, fields are dynamic and relational and 'should not be thought of as homogenous or internally cohesive. Rather they are marked by endless tensions and struggles over (a) the mechanisms of the field's reproduction and (b) the material and symbolic resources in it' (*ibid.*). Therefore, it is not possible to consider this seventy-year period *in toto*. Instead, Phase 1 of the research proceeds chronologically, attempting to identify how trends in this musical provision evolved in response to broader social, political and economic

change. For instance, I will argue in later chapters that towards the beginning of this historical period, local authority music service provision could be characterised as a field of ‘restricted production’ (Bourdieu, 1985). This is because the cultural ‘goods’ being produced (i.e. young people’s acquisition of instrumental skill and musicianship) were primarily intended for consumption by *other*, similarly-positioned producers. As a result, ‘evaluation of production [was] conducted according to criteria internal to the field’ (Everett, 2002: 61). However, one of the key outcomes of Phase 1 is the observation that from the 1980s onwards, this restricted field becomes ‘colonised’ (in Bourdieu’s terminology) by the ‘generalised’ social and economic fields of which it is part. As a result, the ‘evaluation of production’ began to be considered on the basis of other criteria, including the numbers and profiles of participating young people, links to academic attainment, and the cost of provision.

Phase 2 offers a more fine-grained idiographic analysis of a particular case within the broader field. Bourdieu himself was no stranger to the use of case studies, integrating them with other, nomothetic methods to illuminate both global and local representations of a social field (Everett, 2002). Such synergies are, in fact, key to Bourdieu’s intention to go beyond traditional social research dualisms including the macro and the micro, the qualitative and the quantitative (Prasad, 2005; Pilario, 2006). The intention of Phase 2, in Bourdieusian terms, is thus to consider the impact of a particular form of colonisation on the field at a local level. Specifically, the provisos on which MSF monies were allocated.

### *Capital*

At the heart of Bourdieu’s theory is the idea that ‘individuals and groups draw upon a variety of economic, social and cultural resources in order to improve, maintain, or strengthen their positions in the social order’ (Prasad, 2005: 199). These resources, which Bourdieu terms ‘capital’, take society beyond a basic ‘game of chance’ (Pilario, 2006: 144) and afford differing degrees of agency to social actors inhabiting different positions in the ‘field’. Capital has two essential forms for Bourdieu, *economic* and *symbolic* (Prasad, 2005).

Symbolic capital is further subdivided into *social*, *cultural*, *linguistic* and *institutional* forms.

Economic capital includes all tangible material assets, including wealth, land, commodities, property rights, stocks, shares, investments, and even oil wells (Everett, 2002; Prasad, 2005; Pilario, 2006). Of most relevance within this study are, of course, the financial resources available to the families of young people to fund costs associated with local authority instrumental tuition, and to the budgets available to local authorities to subsidise the costs of providing this tuition. Considerable efforts are expended in both Phases 1 and 2 of this research to identify how varying levels of economic capital impact on young people's ability to engage with music service tuition schemes, both directly (in terms of costs associated with tuition fees and instrumental loans) and indirectly (in terms of the associated costs including travel, instrumental maintenance and accessories).

For Bourdieu, economic capital must be symbolically mediated and legitimated (Pilario, 2006). In other words, it must be put to use in ways which reinforce and reproduce the social positions of actors in the field. Of particular relevance within this study is Bourdieu's corresponding notion of cultural capital or 'what you know' (ibid.: 145). Whilst economic capital can be readily converted to 'objectified' cultural capital like rare books, artworks or collections of fine wine (Prasad, 2005), 'embodied' cultural capital is harder and takes much longer to attain, since it involves converting external wealth 'into an integral part of the person' (Bourdieu, 1986: 244, quoted in Everett, 2002: 62). It is this latter form which is of most relevance within this study, since it may be used to explore the way in which some families may be better placed – both economically and culturally - to support a young person's ability to access, and then make the most of, instrumental tuition opportunities over an extended period of time: 'when one is 'born into' a family which possesses significant reserves of cultural capital 'one breathes the air of 'culture', as it were, and the process of inculcation has started as early as one's infancy (Pilario, 2006: 145). For Bourdieu, this is a key way in which individuals advance their positions and the positions of their children in the social field, since such 'cultivated dispositions' result in 'aesthetic

preferences and schemes of appreciation that carry cultural marks of distinction' (Prasad, 2005: 199). With regards to Phase 1 of this research, Chapter 4 will explore these issues in more detail, with a particular regard for Annette Lareau's concept of 'concerted cultivation', itself strongly influenced by Bourdieu (Lareau and Weininger, 2002). In Phase 2, attempts are made to assess the relationships between several 'proxy indicators' for cultural capital (e.g. local data on educational attainment and employment within the creative industries) and participation in music service instrumental tuition.

*Social capital* or 'whom you know' (Pilario, 2006: 146) refers to 'those personal connections that give one easy access to the corridors of power and privilege' (Prasad, 2005: 200). Bourdieu applies the concept of social capital in two ways, both with strong relevance to this research. Firstly, individuals who are part of particular social groups may find that they are well placed to navigate a field thanks to the 'backing of the collectively-owned capital' (Pilario, 2006: 146) and the possession of 'manners, bearing, pronunciation [relating] to membership of a prestigious group' (Everett, 2002: 63). As noted in Chapter 1, both phases of this research seek to consider long-standing perceptions that certain social groups have been better able to gain access to music service tuition than others, thanks to an ability to make the 'right' kind of application to the 'right' kind of people, and to then back this up with economic capital as necessary. Bourdieu's second application of the concept of social capital relates to an individual being associated with a particular 'name', e.g. a family name, area of abode or school. Again, this had relevance to the aspiration to explore related, longstanding perceptions that music service tuition has tended to be more prevalent within particular geographical areas, or amongst the pupils of particular schools.

In the present study, these kinds of longstanding perceptions have further resonance to Bourdieu's concept of *linguistic* capital. This relates to 'one's ability to demonstrate competence in the use of magisterial, scholarly or bourgeois language, in one's ability to decipher and manipulate the complex structures of that language' (Everett, 2002: 63). Allied to the argument that some social groups are better placed to *seek out* instrumental tuition for their young is the notion that they may also be better placed to communicate this



in the language that they use in *requesting* this tuition. By extension the concept of linguistic capital also informs the reading of the literature on local authority instrumental tuition in Phase 1 (a key reason why documentary analysis is a particularly relevant method for this phase). This is because, for Bourdieu, language is 'as a form of social action or practice intrinsically linked to a group's way of life' (Everett, 2002: 67). The way that the language of instrumental tuition changes over the seventy-year history is helpful as a way to identifying the shifting social practices and beliefs associated with this field. For instance, as detailed in Chapter 3, one finds references in 1960s literature to 'lazy' or 'inept' instrumental pupils 'wasting time' and 'failing to learn'. In contrast, by the 1990s, we find that the politicians in the case study local authority were concerned with 'recognising, respecting and valuing the diversity of music and its importance to all the communities' (see Chapter 7).

A consideration of Bourdieu's final form of *institutional* (or *certified*) capital provides a useful reminder that the focus in this research study is not only on the instrumental pupils, but also the teachers and administrators of local authority music services, the politicians in whose hands these schemes have often laid, and the prominent members of the music world who have advocated on their behalf. This form of capital includes certification from prestigious educational institutions and formal affiliations to prestigious organisations (Prasad, 2005). These 'give the bearer a permanent and legally guaranteed authority in the field of culture through the power of the 'institution' (Piliario, 2006: 146). In Phase 1, this concept is useful when considering the influential political interjections from powerful commentators from the worlds of music and the arts at various times. As I argue in Chapter 4, this may give rise to a 'halcyon' view of local authority instrumental tuition which can be particularly associated with those individuals who have attained significant cultural capital from involvement in them, leading to the conferment of institutional capital through associations with prominent orchestras and musical institutions etc. Since the systems appeared to 'work' for these individuals, and given that they are now in influential positions, they are able to advocate powerfully for the continued support of the *status quo*. In Phase 2, the notion of institutional capital again makes an important contribution, since music service participation is considered in the context of

a range of proxy variables, including school league table position, and the numbers of university graduates living locally.

### *Habitus*

*Habitus* is Bourdieu's conceptual means of connecting individual action with the social structure of the field (Everett, 2002). According to Prasad, it is 'best understood as those cultural components that are deposited in social actors' minds and bodies, and that are eventually responsible for these actors' selection and enactment of specific social strategies' (2005: 201). Bourdieu uses this concept to explain that whilst individuals may experience feelings of agency in their lives (e.g. an apparent ability to act in free, conscious and purposeful ways), in reality the parameters of this agency are strongly influenced by their inherited, ingrained and learned positions in a particular social field (Pilario, 2006). The 'mental and corporeal schemata' underpinning an individual's habitus within a particular field may well be experienced unconsciously (Everett, 2002: 65).

Probably more than any other aspect of social praxeology, the concept of *habitus* has enormous potential to inform the present study. In terms of a young person's ability to access and sustain participation in music service tuition, a key issue was whether their particular habitus might lead to an emerging sense of either 'entitlement' or 'constraint' (to draw on Lareau's (2002) terminology). More specifically, I have been concerned to consider the extent to which differing levels of 'capital endowments' (Ergler and Wood. 2015: 404) lead to a decision to either seek out or step back from instrumental tuition opportunities. Whilst such a 'decision' might have been experienced as free and conscious on the part of a young person and/or their parents, the theory of habitus suggests that there may well have been a wide range of unconscious or 'hidden' factors influencing this choice. A major part of this research is thus concerned with uncovering these hidden factors, both in terms of the field as a whole in Phase 1 but also a selected group of actors within this field in Phase 2.

In addition, according to Bourdieu, one's habitus is constantly changing, 'because the experiences to which habitus is constantly subjected are many

and varied, most are reinforcing, but many are modifying' (Everett, 2002: 65). Moreover, as a field becomes colonised, so the habitus of each actor within it has to accommodate this change. As noted above, over the course of the historical period covered in Phase 1 we may note a gradual shift in local authority music service tuition from 'restricted' to 'general' field. As outlined in Chapter 6, for many professionals working in this area, this is likely to have resulted a shift in habitus, leading to an associated change in identify (e.g. from 'curator' producing for other producers' to 'entrepreneur' producing for general consumers (Everett, 2002)).

### **Phase 1: Historical documentary analysis**

Historical documentary analysis was used as the core methodology for chapters 3, 4 and 5. McCulloch offers an extended treatise on some of the ways in which historical and documentary research methods can help identify the origins of the present, explaining 'current structures, relationships and behaviours in the context of recent and longer term trends' (2011: 248). These advantages were particularly important during phase 1, since the literature lacks a comprehensive historical account of the development of local authority music services. Instead, it was necessary to work through a wide variety of literature and documents to gain an impression of implicit organisational and professional beliefs regarding young people's participation in their provision. McCulloch also notes that 'documentary research may frequently be allied to good effect with other research methods in education' (2011: 254). This certainly proved to be the case in this project, where the themes identified in phase 1 are used to generate lines of enquiry within phase 2.

Around seventy years of literature was reviewed, roughly falling into the following categories:

- Reports on English instrumental tuition carried out by individuals, professional bodies and third-party research organisations. Examples include reports by Long (1959), SCAM (1960), AMMA (1984), those conducted by NFER (Cleave and Dust, 1989; Sharp, 1991), the series of research reports conducted for the Department for Education by the Institute of Education (e.g. Hallam and Prince, 2000), those conducted

by Associated Boards of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) (1994; 1997; 2000; 2014) and those by the National Music Participation Director (e.g. Hallam, 2009; Hallam, D, 2010; Hallam, 2012). As suggested by McCulloch these were very useful since they focused on particular aspects of the debate at particular times, highlighting problems and proposing solutions and—more often than not—illustrating ‘the contradictions and tensions that are inherent in state policy (2011: 250);

- Teacher training manuals, text books and publications covering local authority music teaching, intended for the English professional education community. Examples include those by Mainwaring (1951), Dalby (1966), Rainbow (1968), Bentley (1975), Farmer (1979), Taylor (1979), Paynter (1982) Fletcher (1987) and Hallam (1998a). These proved to be vital for the way, as McCulloch notes, they reflected ‘approved values and ideologies’ of the time (2011: 250);
- General histories of music education in England, including those by Plummeridge (1991; 2012), Cox (2010), Pitts (2000), Rainbow (Rainbow and Cox, 2006), Finney (2011) were very helpful to contextualise issues and offer historical overviews of key periods and policies;
- Contemporary reportage from the education sections of broadsheet newspapers (e.g. Izbicki, 1981) and specialist educational and music education publications (e.g. Lepowska, 1998; Green, 2006) offered more examples of commentary and insights regarding the impact of particular policies and developments on certain music services and communities;
- Peer-reviewed articles in academic journals that were concerned with instrumental tuition in English music services (e.g. Barnes, 1982; Baker, 2005)
- Postgraduate dissertations submitted to English universities by professional music teachers (e.g. Hallam, 1985; Holman-Fox, 1993; Adams, 2002, Ridgeway, 2002, MA Student, 2006; Thomas, 2011). These proved particularly useful because the authors typically possessed very expert, ‘inside’ professional knowledge of particular

aspects of the instrumental tuition system and could offer very detailed insights of a particular time and place;

- Acts of parliament and parliamentary proceedings (e.g. HC Hansard, 3 June 2003; The Charges for Music Tuition (England) Regulations 2007)
- Internal policy documents and meeting minutes for a range of local authorities, most frequently the anonymous local authority used as the basis of the phase 2 case study. As McCulloch suggests, these were 'most useful in understanding debates and tracing processes behind the scenes' (2011: 252);
- Autobiographies, including those by Blunkett (2006) and other texts featuring elements of autobiography (e.g. Fletcher, 1987).

Whilst some of this material (e.g. local authority documentation) clearly fell under the heading of 'primary' documents, the boundaries were more blurred in other areas. Following advice from McCulloch, some were regarded as both primary and secondary depending on context. For instance, as scholarly contributions to their field, teacher training manuals and textbooks could be conceived as secondary sources, yet they are also primary sources since they 'reflect attitudes to issues in a particular time or context' (2011: 249) and this is how they were generally employed within this study. In cases where sources were the product of individuals, the professional affiliations of these authors were always evaluated carefully and 'educational, social, political, economic and other relationships' that might help explain the contemporary meaning of the document were considered (ibid: 253). Similarly, the intended audience of each document was assessed in order to account for authenticity and bias.

The methodology adopted here has partial similarities to the work of Robertson (2013), whose Bourdieusian research framework embraced historical documentary analysis and interviews. Robertson's intention was to explain how decision-making of town planners in 1920s Stirling had helped to form and sustain class-based identities of residents in three housing estates:

Examination of the archive evidence illustrates how powerful local actors determined and, quite literally, constructed class-based identities for each of these three places. The incorporation of pre-existing class-based place identities was revealed, given the critical role the actual house style plays in the construction on such “symbolic capital”... Through using Bourdieu’s theoretical framework to analyse empirical data derived from both historic documentary analysis and qualitative interviews conducted in the city of Stirling, the hidden social structures and processes whereby places acquire and then reproduce their distinctive class-based identities are revealed (Robertson, 2013:369).

The historical documentary analysis phase had three distinct outputs and these are included in this thesis as chapters 3, 4 and 5. In Chapter 3, the documentary evidence is used to trace the organisational evolution and development of professional practice within local authority music services until just before the introduction of the MSF. The intention is to consider the broader impacts of these matters on young people’s ability to access the instrumental tuition on offer (research question 1). Chapter 4 interrupts this chronological account in order to explore in more detail some of the underlying, persistent ‘hidden’ barriers to accessing the tuition that emerge within the historical account (research question 2). Awareness of several (but not all) of these barriers informed the political and education motivations behind the introduction of the MSF in 1999. Therefore, Chapter 5 picks up the historical narrative where Chapter 3 left off in order to consider how the MSF was able to address some of these barriers on a national scale (research question 3). The level of historical, political and administrative detail is finer in Chapter 5, since it is also intended to offer a policy context for the case study findings presented in subsequent chapters.

## **Phase 2: Deviant, idiographic case study**

The goal of the second phase of the research was to ‘test’ for the presence of these hidden access barriers through the interrogation of the Case Study Local Authority data. Subsequently the findings of these tests were used to address research questions 4 and 5. This phase drew upon the ‘idiographic’ case study methodology, commonly used within the social sciences (George and Bennett, 2005; Mitchell, 2006). This approach seeks to ‘emphasise place

as unique assemblages where diverse processes and factors come together' (Crang, 1998: 192). Yet whereas traditional idiographic case studies have been mainly descriptive and qualitative in nature, a novel feature of this application of the methodology was that the analysis was chiefly quantitative. A range of recently-developed geospatial statistical techniques were employed (see below), supported by more traditional ordinary least-squares (OLS) regression techniques.

In themselves, the hidden access barriers identified in phase 1 remained inherently qualitative, examples of what Clinton refers to as 'unobservable quantities of interest' (2004: 879). It was thus necessary to identify a range of proxy variables from available geocoded data to represent these factors as closely as possible within phase 2. These were then used as 'predictor variables' for the various geospatial tests. Overall, the intention was to occupy what Goodchild terms the 'middle ground' between the qualitative, idiographic case study and quantitative, nomothetic study. The resulting 'place-based analysis focuses on how the parameters of the model vary from place to place, and draws insights and conclusions from those variations' (2000: 177).

Following Goodchild's (2000) advice, Chapter 7 provides a detailed qualitative context for the case study. Importantly, it explores the reasons why the local authority music service's funding arrangements under the MSF were far from typical. As noted above, the service was one of the most generously funded nationally under the scheme. As such, it represents what George and Bennett (2005) term a 'deviant' or 'outlier' case, a phenomenon with great potential for the researcher. In such cases, the distinct circumstances under study can help identify hitherto unexplored hypotheses, variables and causal relationships which will perhaps lead to insights and theories with more general applicability.

The application of a geospatial idiographic case study in this study reflects a recent trend amongst researchers to augment Bourdieusian analyses of *social space* with an assessment of associated *geographical space*. Bourdieu himself adopted geographical perspectives in *Distinction* (1984),

where he developed his ideas partially through comparing patterns of cultural consumption in cosmopolitan Paris with those in provincial Lille (Prasad, 2005). As Widdop and Cutts point out, ‘interactions between structures, dispositions to action, and action themselves... clearly must take place within a geographical setting: the household, neighbourhood, district, region, and nation’ (2012: 48). In their own 2012 study these researchers considered cultural consumption, as measured through geocoded demographic data on museum attendance gathered as part of the DCMS ‘Taking Part’ surveys. They concluded:

to ignore the fact that individuals reside in different places, that they cluster in space, that they interact with these places and space, and that environmental forces impact on behaviour, is to ignore the role the neighbourhood and district level plays on the individual museum participation. While it remains apparent that the traditional social order is still intact, and other social cleavages have become important, it is also clear that where an individual resides inhibits or facilitates museum participation. Place clearly matters (Widdop and Cutts, 2012: 64).

In a further example of this approach, Ergler and Wood’s (2015) explored young people’s ability to access their urban environment and how they might make use of a range of capitals available to them in order to navigate this environment successfully.

In summary, phase 2 of the research represented the combined application of deviant *and* idiographic case study methodologies. These were applied to data drawn from a locale where local authority music service tuition was particularly well-funded (not to mention politically very well-supported) as a means of interrogating well-rehearsed reasons in the literature for historically low levels of access to this tuition.

### *Case study data*

The identity of the case study music service has been withheld (see below) but, as is outlined in more detail in Chapter 7, its local authority was situated within an urban area of England. In November 2010, the Head of Service consented to provide its entire database of 12,448 instrumental tuition records covering the previous seven academic years. This was anonymised



through the removal of pupil names. A clustering process (see Appendix 2) revealed that these records were, in reality, associated with 6,350 individual young people (on the basis of distinct combinations of birth date, gender and ethnicity). With tuition records clustered, it was possible to derive additional information about each pupil, such as the total time spent learning formally with the music service, the total number of instruments studied and primary/secondary schools attended during periods of tuition. Additionally, the inclusion of pupils' home postcodes in the data allowed their geographical location to be identified very precisely (see below), and so distances between their home and school(s) could be calculated. Moreover, knowledge of geographical location enabled cross-reference to a wide variety of Government geodemographic datasets and facilitated the geospatial tests outlined in chapters 8 and 9.

### *Software and data processing environment*

Phase 2 of this research project employed large quantities of information sourced from publicly-available data. The complete set of database files, including postcode lookup files and indexes of statistical datasets comes to well over 1GB in size.

As a result, robust and coherent methods of managing, processing and accessing data were required throughout the process. The approach adopted was to store data from all sources within password-protected MySQL database tables, accessible via a single database server placed behind a network firewall. MySQL is a very well-known Open Source database management system used worldwide and known for its reliability, flexibility and security. The results of database queries were stored as comma separated text (CSV) files and then imported into the software outlined below for visualisation and analysis.

The open source *Quantum Geographical Information System* package (QGIS) was used to visualise the results of database queries and to create the maps included within this thesis. Statistical analyses of the results of database queries were conducted using the R statistical programming

language, together with a range of specialist spatial processing and analysis ‘plugin’ packages outlined below. Charts and graphs were created using *Microsoft Excel*.

A range of further software utilities was employed for specific, *ad hoc* purposes including *GeoDa* and a number of self-authored data processing utilities written in the *Perl* language.

### *Geospatial resolution and the modifiable areal unit problem*

The UK Postcode system divides the country into ‘areas’, ‘districts’, ‘sectors’ and ‘units’ (ONS, 2010). The last of these (corresponding to the final two characters in a complete postcode) break the country down into very small areas. Each unit contains around 15 residential or business addresses. The precise latitudes and longitudes of these units are held, allowing geographical placement to a resolution of up to 1m<sup>2</sup> from postcode alone.

However, since postcodes (and other boundary systems such as electoral wards) can be changed to reflect patterns of economic and residential behaviour, they cannot be used as a long-term reference system for collating and comparing socio-demographic data. Instead, the Office for National Statistics introduced ‘output areas’ (OA) during the 2001 Census and these enable longer-term comparisons to be made (for instance, as a result of the 2011 census) (ONS, 2010). Output areas are grouped further into ‘middle level super output areas’ (MSOA) and ‘lower level super output areas’ (LSOA). The latter, which typically each have a population of around 1500 residents, are used extensively within the case study in chapters 8 and 9 because many official government datasets are available geocoded at this level of spatial resolution.

In order to link postcodes to the associated OA, LSOA and MSOA, reference was made to the UK Data Service’s (2010) ‘Office for National Statistics Postcode Directory’ (ONSPD). This file is restricted to UK academic research community as it features a higher resolution of postcode coordinates than the public version. Once obtained, this file was imported into the project MySQL

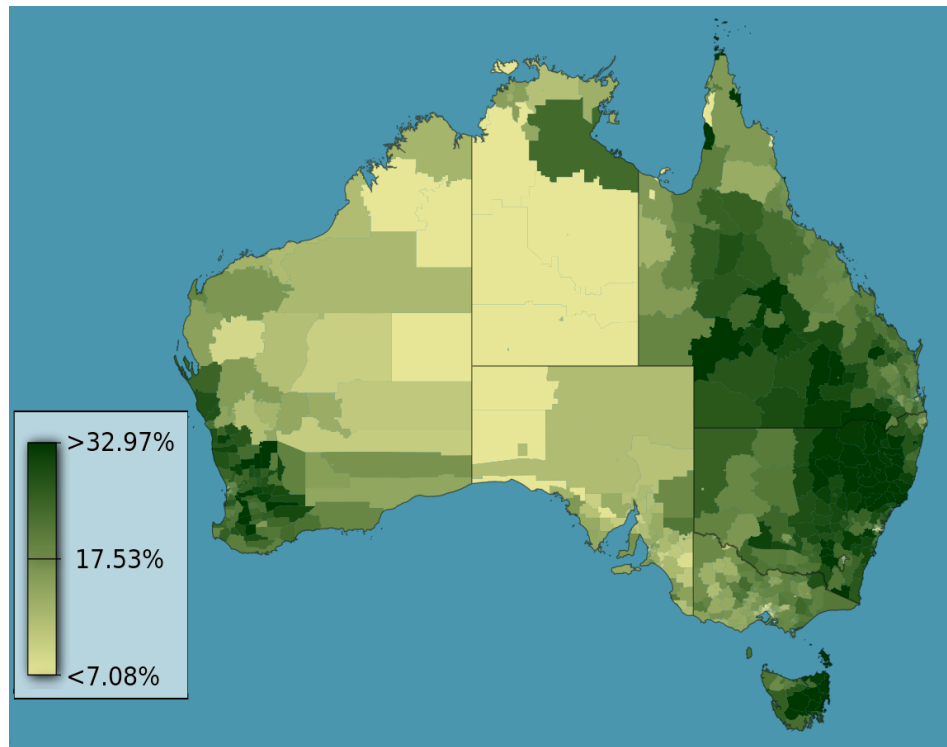
database so that SQL queries could be constructed to match postcodes held in the case study data with their appropriate OA, LSOA and MSOA denotations.

Working with areally-aggregated spatial data has challenges and the modifiable areal unit problem (MAUP), in particular, has dogged those working in the field for several decades (Fotheringham *et al*, 2002). This phenomenon can impact negatively on attempts to analyse data at aggregated areal unit level, for instance when working with data at LSOA level. The MAUP can result in differing results when the same spatial data is analysed using an alternative areal level or shape. For instance, one may achieve a statistically significant result when grouping spatial data by LSOA, but a non-significant result when grouping the same data by an alternative spatial unit, such as postcode district or electoral ward. Many strategies for managing the MAUP have been proposed and the simplest of these has been adopted in this study. This is to always ensure that spatial statistical tests such as Moran's *I* are conducted at a minimum of two different areal resolutions (Qiu and Wu, 2011). To this end, the results presented within this thesis have all been checked for statistical significance at both the LSOA level and either OA or MSOA level, reflecting the resolution of the source data. Only those results which could be reproduced at two spatial resolutions are taken as evidence of a genuine, observed effect.

### *Geospatial visualisation and statistical techniques*

#### Choropleth mapping

Choropleth maps divide a study area into areal units and then colour or shade each of these units to give a visual representation of change in data values (St John and Richardson, 1996). Data are grouped into ranges of values and each range is allocated a particular colour designation. All areas on the map with data within each range are then coloured similarly (Lloyd, 2010). Figure 2.1 illustrates this technique.



**Figure 2.1** Example of a simple choropleth map in which darker green shading is associated with higher densities of a particular quantity or phenomenon (adapted from Hudson, 2012).

Colouring decisions were based on the advice given by St John and Richardson (1996) to associate deeper colours in the red or blue areas of the spectrum with higher absolute values. Lower values are associated either with much lighter shades of these colours or, in the case of location quotient maps, yellow (reflecting values around 1). Numerical ranges were chosen on the basis of the kinds of data that needed to be represented. Where possible, ranges were chosen on the basis of ‘pretty breaks’, which ensures they are easier for humans to interpret, e.g. 1-2, 2-3, 3-4. However, in the case of maps showing location quotients, ranges were based on the ‘standard deviation’ method, i.e. the range covering the mean value is allocated a more neutral colour like yellow, with red or blue shading getting darker with each successive standard deviation away from the mean in either the positive or negative direction (Farkas, 2014).

One limitation of choropleth maps identified by St John and Richardson is that they can give the impression of an abrupt change in data values at the boundary between two areal units. This needs to be born in mind when interpreting the maps used in this thesis. However, a second limitation

identified by St John and Richardson (that variations in data values *within* each areal unit are not shown) turns out to be advantageous in this study. This is because, as outlined below within the Ethics section, it was important for data protection reasons to always display data at a suitably high enough level of aggregation to avoid identifying individuals.

### Location quotients

The location quotient (LQ) was introduced in 1939 as a core analytical technique of economic base analysis (St John and Richardson, 1996). Originally intended to highlight local areas with concentrations or absences of a particular industrial sector in relation to the regional or national situation, it has since been used in many other areas of geographical and social sciences research, for instance health and crime analysis.

In the present study LQs offer a very useful means of assessing the levels of concentration of music service pupils in different LSOAs, based on various criteria, e.g. players of particular instruments, or young people from particular ethnic backgrounds. The total population of young people can vary from LSOA to LSOA and simply counting the number of participants living in each LSOA who meet the given criteria is too simplistic an approach, since this would not take into account areas inhabited by fewer children to begin with (e.g. concentrations of small flats inhabited by young, childless professionals or retired people). LQs are sensitive to this because they are calculated using the total number of young people living in an LSOA as a divisor. Moreover, they allow us to compare local concentrations of these participants with the equivalent number in the population as a whole. As an example, the use of an LQ allows us to assess whether the number of young people playing the guitar in each LSOA is representative of those learning the instrument in the school-age population as a whole.

The basic LQ methodology is applied in various ways in chapters 8 and 9 and the specific calculations used in each case are explained as part of the analysis. However, in general, an LQ score of close to 1.0 indicates that the number of participants as a ratio of all young people living within the LSOA is

in line with the equivalent ratio in the national population. Scores of  $<1.0$  indicate that number of participants in the local LSOA was less than the equivalent national figure whereas scores of  $>1.0$  indicate that participation was greater than in the population as a whole.

One potential limitation on the use of LQs is that equivalent national data must be available in order to meet the needs of the calculation. In many of the calculations in Chapter 8, this national data is drawn from the 2005 survey of local authority music services undertaken by the Institute of Education (Hallam *et al*, 2005). This was particularly appropriate since, not only was it by far the most detailed survey of music service provision attempted, its data collection fell roughly midway through the time period covered by the case study data explored in later chapters.

#### Moran's $I$ test

Tobler's famous first law of geography states that 'Everything is related to everything else, but near things are more related than distant things.' (1970: 234). This implies that data collected from nearby geographical locations is likely to have more in common than data collected from locations further apart. Data exhibiting this quality are said to be *spatially autocorrelated*, i.e. significantly correlated with themselves. Although it is often possible to identify spatial autocorrelation within a data set visually when plotted as a choropleth map, this is not a fool proof method and, in any case, does not offer an accurate measure of the extent of this autocorrelation. Moran's  $I$  offers a formal test for the presence of spatial autocorrelation. Lloyd (2010) provides a detailed mathematical explanation of the test, noting that  $I$  is calculated as a coefficient with values ranging between  $-1.0$  and  $+1.0$ .



**Figure 2.2** Examples of dispersed and clustered data patterns, and how these might be represented by the results of a Moran's  $I$  test (adapted from ESRI, 2006).

As is shown in figure 2.2 values for  $I$  that are nearer to -1.0 give an indication that the data is highly dispersed and that consequently there is a high degree of *negative* spatial autocorrelation. This means that neighbouring values in the data tend to differ. Values nearer to +1.0 indicate stronger levels of *positive* spatial autocorrelation, meaning that neighbouring values in the data are generally similar. A value of close to 0 indicates no clear structure either way, i.e. values in the data are largely randomly distributed across the space. In order for the Moran test to function it is first necessary to create a 'weight matrix', reflecting the relative distances between each pair of data values. Creating this matrix involves making a decision regarding 'case contiguity', i.e. which neighbouring data are included in the assessment of spatial autocorrelation. In all the implementations of Moran's  $I$  within this research, 'rook case contiguity' was used reflecting the naturally irregular borders between neighbouring LSOAs.

Moran's  $I$  tests were implemented in this study through the use of the function *moran.test* from the R package *spdep* (Bivand *et al*, 2013; Bivand and Piras, 2015).

### Syrjala test

This non-parametric statistical test was developed by Syrjala (1996) and subsequently implemented in the R package *ecspa* by Blanco-Moreno and de la Cruz Rot (2015)<sup>2</sup>. It has found relatively frequent use over the last decade in ecological research (e.g. for a representative summary see

<sup>2</sup> Summaries of the mathematical steps necessary to perform this test are offered by Heywood (2008), Irisson (2008), Izquierdo *et al* (2012), McAdam *et al* (2012) and Chen *et al* (2014).

McAdam *et al*, 2012) but also recently in some social science research (e.g. Sun and Manson, 2015). The Syrjala test compares the values of two spatial datasets (e.g. of counts or densities) which share a common set of coordinates (see the example in figure 2.3). Comparisons are made in terms of both quantities and locations in order to provide an assessment of whether the two sample sets share a common spatial distribution. The test is non-parametric and makes no assumptions regarding the distributions of the sample sets to be compared, beyond the fact that they must be equal in size. Further advantages are that it remains robust when samples include a few extreme values (Barroso *et al*, 2004) and is stringent in rejecting the null hypothesis (Sarkar *et al*, 2005). Thus one may have confidence when the test indicates a statistically significant result.




Image redacted for copyright reasons

**Figure 2.3** Several datasets have been compared using the Syrjala test. The test result for a comparison of (a) and (b) is non-significant, confirming that, despite minor variation, they are actually from the same spatial distribution. The test result comparing (a) and (c) is significant, confirming that they are from distinct spatial distributions (adapted from Barroso *et al*, 2002).

The test statistic is denoted  $\psi$ . The smaller  $\psi$ , the more similar the spatial distributions of the two sample sets. When  $\psi$  is large, the difference between the two sets is greater. Significance is calculated using a permutation method whereby random pairs of sample points from each data set are swapped and the test repeatedly recomputed. The resulting  $p$  denotes the proportion of recomputed, randomised tests in which the resulting  $\psi$  is greater-than-or-equal-to the observed  $\psi$ . For instance, a  $p$  value of 0.03 indicates that in only



3% of the randomised tests was the result greater than the observed  $\psi$ . At a 95% significance level, this would indicate that the spatial distributions of the first and second data sets were statistically different. As in many other statistical tests, larger values for  $p$  indicate that differences between the distributions of the two data sets are not statistically significant. Without a  $p$  value,  $\psi$  is meaningless (McAdam, 2012). Theoretically, all possible permutations should be run to determine  $p$  (i.e.  $2^K$  pair-wise comparisons, where  $K$  is the total number of coordinate points). Practically, however, this is typically too computationally intensive. Nonetheless, recent increases in computing speed mean that it is now more common for researchers to specify 9,999 permutations (Huber *et al*, 2014; Berry *et al*, 2015).

### *Derived 'milestone' measures*

With regard to the case study in phase 2, it was acknowledged that appropriate 'milestone' measures would facilitate more accurate assessments regarding instrumental pupils' progress. A range of possibilities was considered but, in the end, two measures were developed as follows.

#### Primary-secondary transfer measure

Moving from primary to secondary school can be a challenging time for pupils and 'many children', Sloboda notes, 'appear to 'leave instrumental music behind' as they make this transition' (2001: 244). Research has suggested that primary-secondary attrition rates can be as high as 25% to 35% (O'Neill *et al*, 2001; Lowe, 2010). Recent data from England (Sharp, 2015) suggests that whilst KS2 pupils continue to dominate area-wide music hub ensembles (16.8% of the national KS2 population were involved in 2014), there is a subsequently significant drop in participation as pupils reach KS3 (only 8.3% of the national KS3 population took part). Reasons cited in the literature include concerns over increases in academic workload, impending examination subject selections, a renewed focus on future career prospects and, perhaps, feelings of intimidation when faced by more advanced musical peers and new social groupings (Shofner, 2001; Seddon, 2004; Ashworth *et al*, 2011). Yet despite well-placed concerns regarding this situation, Ofsted (2012) found that few secondary schools had developed cross-key stage strategies with primary colleagues or were aware of primary-focused

initiatives such as WO or Sing Up. This lack of coordination may be compounded by uncertainty regarding individual pupils' primary-secondary transition routes (Ashworth *et al*, 2011). Fundamentally, it seems that considerable personal resilience is required to continue, not to mention practical and emotional familial support. Ashworth *et al* sum up this situation by observing:

When children move to secondary school, apart from the occasional parents' evening, many are literally distanced from their children's education. Unless parents/carers themselves are interested in music, or value learning music for its perceived benefits on other curriculum learning, it can be hard for pupils to sustain the momentum generated in KS2... There is an unspoken assumption that parents/carers will be available to give these activities their support. Children often depend on them for transport; for families in difficult circumstances music may not be a high priority and even attending a concert may appear of peripheral importance. This applies particularly in cases of socio-economic deprivation. Where such pupils form a high proportion of the school population and the school is already struggling, the outlook for music can be bleak (2011: 40).

In a bid to assess the salience of these issues, a 'primary-secondary transfer' (PST) measure was developed during phase 2. As can be seen in equation 2.1,  $PST_{lsoa}$  was defined as the percentage of learners in a given LSOA who had continued with their tuition for at least one full term *after* commencing secondary school. It was deemed that in continuing in this way, they had demonstrated particular resilience in the face of this potential watershed event.

$$\left( \frac{p_{trans}}{p_{tuition}} \right) \times 100 = PST_{lsoa} \quad (2.1)$$

Here,  $p_{trans}$  is the number of learners in the LSOA who began tuition during primary school and continued for at least one term of secondary school.

$P_{tuition}$  represents the total number of learners in a given LSOA whose tuition commencement and cessation dates fall within the period of time covered by the data.

### Two-year ‘neuroplasticity’ measure

Over the past two decades, a wealth of neurological and psychological studies have suggested that extended engagement with the study of a musical instrument may have an impact on young people’s neurological organisation and, consequently, on various aspects of their cognitive development in other-than-musical areas (see Costa-Giomi, 2014 for a summary). Within this literature, durations of around two years are frequently cited as ‘tipping points’ at which various neurological, psychological, or cognitive impacts become clearly discernible to researchers (see figure 2.4 and Costa-Giomi, 1999; Schellenberg, 2006; Schlaug *et al*, 2009; Rauscher and Hinton, 2011; Degé *et al*, 2011; Tierney *et al*, 2013).



**Figure 2.4** Examples of MRI scans comparing levels of whole brain activity in individuals who have undergone around two years of musical tuition (row A) and who have not undergone this tuition (row B) (reproduced from Zuk *et al*, 2014: 9).

In summary, what is clear, writes Costa-Giomi, ‘is that intensive or extensive music practice contributes to neurological reorganization’ (2014: 4). To this end, a measure of the number of learners in a given LSOA who had continued to receive a minimum of two years’ tuition (TYT) was developed (equation 2.2). This was intended to give a very basic sense of the number of participants (expressed as a percentage of all those taking part in a given LSOA) who were well-placed to undergo the outlined neurological changes and thus perhaps encounter the reported, other-than-musical cognitive and psychological benefits.

$$\left( \frac{p_{2yrs}}{p_{tuition}} \right) \times 100 = TYT_{lsOA} \quad (2.2)$$

Here,  $p_{tuition}$  represents the total number of learners in a given LSOA whose tuition commencement and cessation dates fall within the period of time covered by the data.  $P_{2yrs}$  is the number of learners in the LSOA who continued receiving tuition for a minimum of two years.

### *Developing and evaluating OLS regression models*

On the basis of the results of the above tests a series of statistically significant observed variations emerged from the case study data (Chapter 8). Explanations for these variations were sought from a series of exploratory OLS regression models (Chapter 9). These were intended to highlight which combinations of proxy variables might associate most strongly with these variations. Importantly, however, in constructing these models, the focus was not on explaining *all* of the variance exhibited in the case study data. Authors including Fletcher (1987) and Hallam (1998a) identify a wide range of inter- and intra-personal factors influencing the act of seeking out and sustaining instrumental tuition and these models are unable to account for factors such as these; no data is held on them, and they are typically highly intangible in any case. Thus, one would not expect models'  $R^2$  values to be necessarily approaching 1.0. Frankly, *any* non-trivial, statistically-significant value for  $R^2$  emanating from these proxy variables may give credence to the argument that seeking out and sustaining instrumental tuition is down to more than personal factors alone.

All subsets variable (ASV) selection has been recommended by several authors as being particularly appropriate for exploratory OLS regression model building (Field *et al*, 2013; Newsom, 2015). It was employed here using the R package *leaps*. In ASV selection, all possible combinations of predictor variables are tried by the computer until the version with the lowest mean squared error is found, taking into account the number of predictors. Whilst, in general, this results in the model with the highest possible  $R^2$ , the specific combination of predictor variables may still be subject to problematic levels of multicollinearity. For this reason, ASV was only used as an initial step, with the suggested model then subject to careful manual checking using two variable inflation factor (VIF) tests.

VIF tests measure multicollinearity, that is the extent to which one predictor variable correlates strongly with one or more other predictor variables (Field *et al*, 2013). Multicollinearity can be highly problematic in multivariate regression models, since it potentially confounds the individual contribution of one or more predictor variables. Unfortunately, multicollinearity is hard to avoid in social sciences research, where several predictor variables may well be linked. As is outlined in Chapter 4, for instance, several of the identified ‘hidden’ barriers to instrumental tuition relate, in some way or another to socio-economic status (e.g. areas with higher levels of educational achievement may also be areas with higher levels of vehicle ownership, the common link being better paid employment). Thus, the proxy variables chosen to represent these barriers are also likely to be related, and thus be subject to the possibility of multicollinearity. For this reason, careful manual checks were made on each exploratory regression model in order to be as sure as possible that the combination of proxy variables reflected a genuine association with variation in the case study data and was not confounded.

Two VIF tests were employed, both utilising the *car* R package. In the first, a mean VIF score was calculated for each model by averaging the individual VIF scores for each contributing predictor variable. Field *et al* (2013) suggests that multicollinearity may be affecting a model if its average VIF score is above 1.0. In the second test, reference was made to VIF ‘tolerance’, calculated as the reciprocals of VIF for each predictor variable in the model. VIF tolerance values of less than 0.2 indicate a potential problem with multicollinearity, according to Field.

Regression models were accepted as the best available once all remaining predictor variables made a statistically significant contribution and VIF was brought within acceptable limits on the basis given above. Given that the main reason for developing these models was to identify which combination of predictor variables was most strongly associated with variations in the case study data, the last stage was to make an assessment of the relative importance of each remaining predictors in predicting this variation. To achieve this, the Lindeman-Merenda-Gold (LMG) post-hoc method of decomposing  $R^2$  was employed through the application of the *relaimpo* R

package (Genizi, 1993; Grömping, 2006). The constituent percentages for each predictor could then be easily understood as pie charts.

In order to illustrate the adopted regression model building process in more detail, the individual steps involved are given for the first model presented in Chapter 9.

## **Ethical considerations**

### *Handling and processing geocoded data*

‘Geocoding’ refers to the attaching of geographical coordinates to social or environmental datasets (Lloyd, 2010). The emergence of geographical information systems since the 1990s has required those conducting geographical research to consider ethical issues relating to the handling of large quantities of geocoded data, particular when this might inadvertently identify individuals (see Pickles, 1995). As Martin notes, there is a ‘continual tension between the protection of individual rights and the need for high quality information’ (Martin, 2004: 2). Fundamentally, Exeter *et al* (2014) argue that much of the analytical *power* of geospatial techniques comes from the ability to data-match individual, geocoded records with large pre-existing datasets. However, the resulting ‘mash-ups’, caution Exeter *et al*, have the potential to ‘together reveal more as a whole than the sum of the individual parts’ (2014: 2). As more data become available, and as the data matching, analysis and visualisation processes become more sophisticated, concerns have been raised regarding the implications for data protection. Yet so-called ‘geoprivacy’ remains an emerging issue, and concerns—and responses to these from within the academic and commercial research communities—have continued to develop over the course of the completion of this doctoral thesis.

As outlined in Appendix 2, the case study data used as the basis for the geospatial analysis in Chapters 7 and 8 was received in anonymised form through the removal of all names in the individual tuition records. This ensured that the local authority providing the data (the ‘data custodian’) complied with the requirements of the UK Data Protection Act 1998 because

the data did not identify individuals (Van den Eynden *et al*, 2011). Moreover, under the ‘fair processing notice’ of the case study local authority, data on school pupils was required to be anonymised before analysis. Furthermore, in accordance with BERA guidelines (2011), once received by the researcher, the ‘raw’ data was stored securely on a password-protected database server and was not disclosed to any third party. In addition, the data have only been used on the basis agreed with the case study Head of Service and the service’s senior administrator (Exeter *et al*, 2014). This is a particularly important consideration when making use of ‘secondary data’, as in this case (Boddy *et al*, 2013).

Nonetheless, the case study data still included a range of what are termed ‘proxy identifiers’ (Exeter *et al*, 2014). These data, which describe characteristics such as age and gender, have the *theoretical potential* to be data-matched and aggregated with ‘direct identifiers’ such as postcode, effectively ‘reverse-geocoding’ and retrieving formerly anonymised data at the individual level (Van den Eynden *et al*, 2011). As noted above, each full UK postcode contains only around fifteen individual addresses (ONS, 2010) and so there was reasonable theoretical potential for an individual to be identified had this datum been combined with these proxy identifiers, particularly in areas with fewer residents.

Thus, in order to comply with the BERA guidelines, and with the Data Protection Act on which these are based, the policy throughout the research has been not to present any analysis or findings which include participant data at the individual level. Similarly, no findings have been presented from which individual participant data might be inferred. This specifically includes the coordinate plotting of individual postcodes on any map included within this thesis. Instead, data have always been appropriately statistically or spatially aggregated and have only been referred to at the spatial resolution of LSOA or greater (Exeter *et al*, 2014).

### *Adopting a reflexive position as a researcher*

Bourdieu uses the term ‘illusio’ to describe the way players of social ‘games’ can get caught up within them, convinced of their importance. These

resulting ‘investments’ may occur without players being fully aware that they have happened (Pilario, 2006). Adopting a Bourdieusian approach involves trying to ‘objectify unconscious presuppositions’ (ibid: 217) within fields of which one is part. This is clearly particularly important when the intended field of research coincides with fields occupied by the researcher in other personal and professional areas of their lives. As a result, social praxeology calls for researchers to adopt critical perspectives with regards to their own position (Everett, 2002). They must take steps to ‘recognise the impact of their own social locations on the kind of scholarly claims they make’ (Prasad, 2005: 197). For Bourdieu, this is to become ‘reflexive’, a process which can help the researcher ameliorate the impact of three types of associated bias: *social*, *field*, and *intellectual* (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

### Ameliorating social bias

For Bourdieu, ‘*social bias*’ can result from a researcher’s unique set of ‘identity locations’ and the way in which these might influence the interpretation of empirical data (Prasad, 2005). In the case of this research, this implied a need to consider my own past and present locations within a range of social fields.

Despite wholly positive educational and musical experiences whilst in its care, it would be fair to say that I had a ‘patchy’ relationship with my own local authority music service as a child. I began learning with this service before moving to private instrumental teachers, largely for reasons of practicality (e.g. lesson timings and locations). Yet that there was even *scope* to move from the free tuition available through the music service to paid-for private tuition reflects in part the fact that music held a central place in our family life (e.g. my father had been a professional musician for much of my childhood). The financial capital to fund this tuition was significant, and was very hard for my family to find. However, as Bourdieu notes, ‘those sections which are richest in cultural capital are more inclined to invest in their children’s education at the same time as in cultural practices liable to maintain and increase their specific rarity’ (Bourdieu, 1977: 502, quoted in Everett, 2002: 64).



I attended the local music service's youth ensembles for a time but felt aware, even as a young adolescent, of social differences between different members of these ensembles. No doubt far too rashly, in hindsight, I let this awareness cloud my views of these activities. Bourdieu might say that I did not yet have a sufficient 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu, 1990: 66). I instead sought out alternative ensembles in my school and ultimately in the wider community: function bands and venues in the local and vibrant, semi-professional 'gigging' scene in my tourism-driven home town. Possibly because of formative experiences within this field as a young child (attending band rehearsals and getting to know local prominent figures), in retrospect it is clear that I had a far better 'feel' for this alternative musical 'game'. In part this would have been due to the social capital accrued through my father's previous involvement.

Ultimately, my slightly eclectic formal, informal and autodidactic music education would see me pursue undergraduate musical study at City University in the 1990s. With its emphasis on musical and cultural diversity, this programme resonated with my own earlier practical musical experiences. For Bourdieu this would not have been by chance:

Given the close, reproductive, link between the subjectivities of the habitus and the objectivity of the social world it is difficult not to perceive them as bound together in a closed feedback loop, each confirming the other (Jenkins, 1992: 82)

Since so many of my instincts for research methodology stemmed from my own undergraduate education, there was an important need within the present study to adopt Prasad's caution that researchers must accept the existence of a 'certain degree of sociocultural determinism and [adopt] a stance against methodological individualism' (2005: 202). Specifically, whilst my own music service had been but one of many formative musical influences in my life, I was acutely aware that many friends and colleagues perceived the influence of their local music services as transformative. For these individuals, their participation had clearly produced a wealth of social capital (in the form of access to friendship and professional networks), not to mention significant embodied cultural capital (in the form of high quality musical experiences, enriching their lives and careers ever since). As I go on to explain below, these reflections necessitated a research methodology

which would allow for a very broad reading of music education experiences, and of local authority music service tuition in particular.

As noted, at the inception of this research activity I was a music teacher in a large 16-19 college. Together with others inhabiting the professional musical field of my local authority, I shared a collective responsibility to ensure positive, enriching musical experiences for the young people within our care. This was particularly a factor after 2012 when the working arrangements instituted following the NPME called for us to become formal partners of the newly formed music ‘hub’. Moreover, I had become a close friend of many of these colleagues, including those working for the music service whose work is explored in Phase 2. In my own college, I had a professional responsibility to make music ‘work’, primarily in terms of balancing a need to keep my courses viable in terms of student numbers, but ensure that we managed to record strong academic performances across each cohort. As a result, I can readily identify with those professionals whom I characterise as having adopted a ‘pragmatic mindset’ in Chapter 3. Such reflection on my location within wider professional fields led to the realisation that I would need to ‘question the disloyalty of setting oneself up as an observer of a game he or she is still playing’ (Everett, 2002: 72, summarising an argument of Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992).

Ultimately, attempts to reduce the socially biasing effects of my own social positions as musical learner and professional were focused on Phase 1 of the research. As outlined within Chapter 1, social praxeology had suggested that it would be impossible to consider the actions of the social agents in the case study (i.e. music service pupils and teachers) without having ‘mapped the field’ to identify the influence of prevailing social structures. In a sense, of course, the researcher is for Bourdieu *another* agent in the social field, one who risks becoming a ‘toy’ of social forces (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 183). For Everett, the construction of the ‘research object’ in this way helps the researcher to ‘break with *common sense*... [and] necessitates a critical discussion of the premises of any debate’ (2002: 74, emphasis added). Without the confidence afforded by such a mapping of the field, I would not be able to rely on the unavoidably socially-located perspectives I might

otherwise bring to Phase 2 of this research. Ethically, I owed all those working in the field of local authority music education, past and present a debt to be as objectively informed about this sector's development as possible. Only then would it be possible to feel confident that the fields and relationships I hoped to identify within Phase 2 would be based on firm ground.

### Ameliorating field bias

Bourdieu argues that *field bias* occurs when a researcher allows his or her own position in the 'academic field' to influence their approach to, and levels of investment in, the research topic (Prasad, 2005). A change in professional role partway through the research highlighted the significant potential for field bias within this study. From the inception of this research in 2010 until summer 2013, I combined the roles of music teacher and part time doctoral researcher. This meant the greater part of my professional time was devoted to the musical progression of my students, and by extension, other young people in feeder schools and associated ensembles within my local authority. The more limited time available for research activity was very much 'framed' by these responsibilities. In particular, I had initially regarded myself as working very much within the emic tradition (Headland and McElhanon, 2004). With regards to Phase 2, I was researching my own locale and was concerned with the experiences of colleagues and students, often including those with whom I had close working relationships. Notwithstanding the concerns outlined above relating to social bias, this led to a sense of confidence, personal connectedness, authenticity—perhaps even 'legitimacy'—with regard to the study's aims. I felt that I had a genuine investment in the processes I sought to understand. Bourdieu, of course, might have considered this *illusio* and may well have urged caution, since 'what must be objectivised is not (only) the individual... but the position she occupies in academic space' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 71).

However, in September 2013 I began a new role as a full-time university lecturer within a general education department. This change involved a step back from practical music teaching, but offered potentially greater time and resources for research work. Moreover, the professional distancing from my

previous role resulted in the gradual weakening of many personal and professional bonds within the case study local authority. With this change in circumstances, the position I occupied in ‘academic space’ changed too. Specifically, my perspective on the various local authority policy documents and meeting minutes I was reviewing in preparation for Chapter 7, not to mention the tuition data under analysis in Chapters 8 and 9 had altered. I now found myself in the position of an ‘etic’ researcher, and—thanks to an increasing understanding of social praxeology—one with an awareness that ‘*objectivising distance* must be objectivised’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 41-42, emphasis added).

One practical outcome of this realisation was the decision to refer to case study anonymously throughout the thesis. This was for more than reasons of participant confidentiality. (In fact, there had been no agreement with the Case Study Music Service that the identity of the local authority must remain undisclosed.) Fundamentally, I found that by attempting to consider these data sources as though from an anonymous local authority, I could remain more effectively detached and objective in my analysis.

As a result, I have only stated that the case study local authority is situated within an urban area of England. When making reference to all policy documents, meeting minutes and other literature where the identity of the case study local authority is revealed, I have followed the Institute of Education Library’s guidance (IoE, 2015) on the referencing of confidential information. A useful secondary implication of this decision is that there is a further layer of anonymity between readers of this thesis and the individuals whose data are analysed within later chapters.

### Ameliorating Intellectual bias

Bourdieu cautions that the desire to be respected or highly regarded within one’s professional field (and perhaps, by extension, the desire to accrue ‘institutional capital’ by passing a doctoral examination - see Everett (2002)) can lead to *intellectual bias*. This occurs when the researcher is enticed to ‘construe the world as a spectacle, as a set of significations to be interpreted

rather than as concrete problems to be solved practically' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 39).

This suggested that, whilst on the one hand I needed to ameliorate field bias by objectifying my relationship with the case study local authority as far as possible, on the other hand, I needed to retain my strong personal commitment to the study and its aims. After all, the whole point of commencing this work had been to shed light on to an apparent social inequity I had perceived through practice, with the ambition that this might result in change. It is often noted that Bourdieu's theory is *genuinely critical* in the sense that it does not only deal with how social structures are reproduced but also leads to consideration of how they might be changed (Prasad, 2005). In particular, Ergler and Wood argue that Bourdieu's ideas 'include the potential for transformation and change within the social positions that young people find themselves' (2015: 397).

To this end, I have sought in Chapter 10 to make strong links between the idiographic geospatial findings of phase 2 and the issues raised in other very recent empirical research and policy literature dealing with young people's musical engagement and participation. Moreover, in Chapter 11, I attempt to offer practice-oriented suggestions for how barriers which remain might be tackled.

## **Chapter 3 – A brief history of local authority music service provision until 1998, with a focus on access and participation**

### **Introduction**

The intention of this chapter is to offer a brief overview of the historical development of local authority music service tuition in England, along with some of the political, social and musical motivations for these, from the end of the second world war until the period just preceding the introduction of the MSF in 1999. In order to address research question 1, the focus is on an assessment of how developments within music services impacted on young people's ability to access local authority instrumentation tuition.

### **The impact of the Second World War**

The experience of the Second World War motivated unprecedented levels of musical engagement amongst all sections of British society (Rainbow and Cox, 2006). To a population only recently exposed to professional performances thanks to the gramophone and radio, wartime uncertainty led to a 'sudden awareness of the importance of certain things of permanent value, such as music' (Ibberson, 1977: 63). Summing up the general mood, Brace describes a 'great wave of enthusiasm for orchestral music that swept through the civilian and fighting population' (1970: 16). This revival of interest in music, particularly the classical and orchestral genres, would prove to be highly influential on the post-war scene.

To a great extent, this revival was fuelled by official policy. The *Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts* (CEMA) was established by the Board of Education soon after the outbreak of hostilities (Taylor, 1979; Rainbow and Cox, 2006). (It would subsequently be reborn as the Arts Council in 1946). CEMA funded a total of 8000 reportedly morale-boosting concerts in air raid shelters, canteens, rest centres and factories and provided subsidised tickets for concerts, opera and ballet in the first two years of conflict alone. The sheer amount of money and effort involved offers a suggestion of the wartime value placed on this form of musical engagement by those at the highest levels of the British Government. The establishment of CEMA is described by

Rainbow as one of the most important events in the musical history of the country:

Familiar with the sound and texture of orchestral music in their own homes, and now able to experience it accompanied by the visual and dramatic impact of a large orchestra at work, many who had not previously thought themselves as 'fond of music' were astonished to find their emotions stirred to an extent hitherto unknown. That this new experience *was brought to them* at a time when every soldier's and civilian's life was equally in danger, against the background of wartime grimness, shortage of normal entertainment, restricted travel, domestic upheaval, and the absence of relatives and friends clearly provided the catalyst to bring about the transformation (Rainbow and Cox, 2006: 293-4, emphasis in original).

CEMA's role was not limited to arranging and funding concerts by professional musicians. It also sought to establish music-making opportunities in local communities up and down the county. In doing so, it built on the community experience and professional network already firmly in place in many areas thanks to the Rural Music Schools (RMS) movement (Ibberson, 1977; Trodd, 1978). At the outbreak of war, Lord de la Warr, president of the Board of Education, addressed RMS members in the pages of their journal *Rural Music*:

Your work has always been valuable, but it has been doubled by recent events, and I wish it the best of luck in carrying out its work of keeping up the morale of the people (quoted in Ibberson, 1977: 63).

The value of RMS's work in the eyes of the Government was to be recognised explicitly by the addition of the Schools' instrumental teachers to the list of reserved occupations and the allocation of additional petrol rations to support tuition in more remote communities (Ibberson, 1977). Additionally, the RMS's ongoing community programmes were supplemented by CEMA's appointment of a music officer in every Civil Defence Region (Rainbow and Cox, 2006) and an innovative scheme which arranged peripatetic professional musicians, termed 'travellers', to be dispatched to stimulate local music-making activity in all areas of the country (Ibberson, 1977; Rainbow and Cox, 2006). Mary Ibberson, founding director of the RMS Council recalls that, as a result of these collective efforts, demand for instrumental lessons increased steadily throughout the war.

The pressures and discomfort of wartime, Ibberson (1977) reflects, meant that people looked to the playing of musical instruments both as a distraction from their circumstances but also as a source of company when loved ones were away. The social aspects of ensemble playing were regarded as very important, despite the difficulties associated with assembling to rehearse. In Devon, for instance, 'students took not only violins to their classes but also blankets to cover the windows' (Ibberson, 1977: 63). In Bedfordshire, a group of boys clubbed together to fund their RMS teacher's bus fare so that their lessons could continue when petrol became unavailable. The Bedfordshire School grew considerably during the war years and, by June 1946, could boast 28 classes, serving 290 pupils in 41 towns and villages across the county. This particular branch, it was noted, was 'fully alive to the enormous interest in music now evinced by all sections of the population' (Sykes, 1947: 34). Violin, recorder and piano classes were held after hours in village school buildings and school's headquarters in Bedford and catered for all ages and all sections of the community (Sykes, 1947). Instruments and music were sold to prospective students as cheaply as possible and the lessons, given in either groups or individually, were offered at an affordable rate (Sykes, 1948).

A further outcome of this wartime community movement was the establishment of many county council music committees, representing the first widespread, formal involvement of local government in organised music-making opportunities (Long, 1959; Bracey, 1959; Ibberson, 1977)<sup>3</sup>. Funding from the Carnegie Trust enabled many of these wartime committees to appoint county music advisers to assist and coordinate the activities of amateur music societies and the RMS (Trodd, 1978). Advisers would typically train conductors to lead local choral and instrumental groups, subsequently organising festivals and concerts when these groups had gained proficiency (Bracey, 1959). In Reading, for instance, the County Council's Youth Committee had by 1942 raised enough money to enable the purchase of a collection of orchestral instruments to be loaned to young people for 6d per lesson (Trodd, 1978; Cox, 2002). In Bedford, the Youth Music Club

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<sup>3</sup>Bracey (1959) notes that whilst only four or five counties could boast a music committee in 1939, the number had risen to fifty by 1942.



Orchestra, again supported by the County Council, had commenced in 1944 and had grown to embrace ten strings, three woodwind and two brass players by 1947 (Sykes, 1947).

Thus, from 1940 onwards, it would appear that the nation's appetite for music, and for orchestral music in particular, grew rapidly. In a further example of this trend, four new national, full-time professional orchestras had been established by the end of the war, whilst the Hallé Orchestra gave 258 concerts in 1944, up from 46 in 1938 (Rainbow and Cox, 2006). This general enthusiasm and interest in music continued in the aftermath of the conflict and became an expression of the general spirit of exploration, experimentation, co-operation and social change that characterised the age (Taylor, 1979). A characteristic feature of all this national and local government-sponsored wartime activity was a belief that the population as a whole could enrich their lives by coming to know music through attendance at professional concerts and engagement in personal and community music-making activity. Personal accounts of the period (e.g. Ibberson, 1977; Westaway, 1967) note the breakdown of traditional barriers (e.g. 'working class' versus 'middle class', 'amateur' versus 'professional') that permeated these activities.

Internationally, too, music was coming to be viewed as a democratizing force with organisations such as UNESCO's International Music Council (founded 1949) and the International Society for Music Education (ISME) (founded 1953) representing a global community of practitioners and teachers (Taylor, 1979; McCarthy, 2004). These ideals were accompanied by a worldwide expansion in instrumental teaching as the twentieth century progressed, along with a growth in associated educational ensembles (Plummeridge, 2012).

### **The emerging role of local authorities**

The unprecedented levels of enthusiasm for music was recognised by local authority education committees (Trodd, 1978), many of whom were prepared to take on financial responsibility for work of the music committees and advisers once the Carnegie Trust began reducing funding at the end of the

war (Bracey, 1959). The initial post-war responsibilities of these advisers (in some areas termed 'inspectors' or 'organisers') often continued the wartime model, typically including the coordination of concerts, regional choirs, orchestras and festivals and the arranging of new school accommodation and equipment (Taylor, 1979; Thomson, 1989a). They were supported by the establishment of the *Music Advisers National Association* in 1947 (Cleave and Dust, 1989). As advisers became increasingly more influential in local educational policy, their role developed to include the organisation of instrumental teaching provision for school pupils (Long, 1959; Adams *et al*, 2010). London County Council gave an early lead in this respect. Building on an earlier scheme that had offered selected children access to instrumental tuition (Board of Education, 1944), Russell recruited the Capital's first visiting instrumental teachers between 1947 and 1948 (Brace, 1970; Thomson, 1989a; Adams, 2002). The ongoing developments in London were noted by the McNair Committee in their 1944 report on the training and supply of teachers. The committee recommended that such schemes become the norm across the country in a paragraph which, as we shall see, neatly outlines much of the philosophy and general approach of music service tuition that would prevail for the next sixty years:

For the fortunate children in a few places there are admirable instrumental classes, and a few local education authorities, notably London, have begun to select gifted children for individual courses of lessons, with outstanding results. These facilities should not wait for the post-primary stage, since the foundation of executive skill can be laid in childhood with unique ease and certainty; nor, if adequate teachers can be found, is there any reason why the facilities should not be made available everywhere and dependent neither on extra fees nor on the chance of a particular locality or school. A few determined local education authorities have already shown that the problem of the provision of instruments can be overcome. (Board of Education, 1944: 155)

Many other local authorities did indeed follow London's example, to a greater or lesser extent (Thomson, 1989a; Brace, 1970). In other areas of the country, arrangements were made by some local authorities to take over financial responsibility for children's instrumental tuition already being provided by the local RMS. This organisation had ended the war with a higher proportion of child learners than before and this trend continued into

peace time (Ibberson, 1977). In Hampshire, for example, the local authority took over forty violin classes in 1945. Typically, in such instances, the local authority would fund the tuition whilst the RMS employed the teachers and arranged the classes (Long, 1959; Ibberson, 1977). By 1949, all nine RMS branches were working in partnership with their local authorities in some way (Ibberson, 1977). Nonetheless, prevailing post-war austerity, combined with varying levels of political and administrative support from one local authority to another meant that models of instrumental provision and levels of funding differed widely (Ibberson, 1977; Thomson, 1989a). Whilst some authorities spent considerable sums both on the employment of specialist teachers and on loan stocks of instruments, others provided little in the way of either money or encouragement. This was a situation that would continue well into the 2000s (see Chapter 5).

Despite this variation, the immediate post-war period is generally considered to have witnessed a significant national net increase in the provision of orchestral instrumental tuition via the state school system (Long, 1959; Taylor, 1979; Pitts, 2000). Though accurate figures are not available, the general view at the time was that more children than ever before were able to access this tuition, often for free or cheaply (Brace, 1970; Thomson, 1989a). It was also during this period, according to Rainbow and Cox (2006) that the term 'peripatetic teacher' entered the music educator's vocabulary. 'Instrumental teaching', notes Cox, 'was clearly in the ascendant' at this time (2002: 15) and the music services of at least twelve local authorities were established before the end of the 1940s (Cleave and Dust, 1989). In isolated cases, systems of provision were established at arm's length from the local authority as 'trusts' (a precursor to a trend that would emerge in the 1990s and 2000s<sup>4</sup>).

Not everyone was wholly in agreement with these developments, and some prominent figures in the musical establishment remained wedded to the doctrine of 'music appreciation', popular two decades earlier (Cox, 2002). There is a sense in literature of the time that, despite the lofty ideals of wartime, the democratizing of practical musical engagement represented a

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4 At least one authority established their service as a 'trust' in 1948 (Sharp, 1991).

challenge to some ways of thinking. For instance, an article appearing in the journal *Music in Education* in 1947 gives a sense of how increased access was viewed in some quarters. The writer complained that some local authority music advisers sought to:

turn all children into little pianists, others into little violinists. Some again would send them all, prepared or unprepared, to hear full orchestra concerts. This latter does good to some of the children, but in London at least it has proved ruination to the upholstery... So much money and well-meaning effort is expended now and so little, relatively, is achieved. (J. H. White, quoted in Cox, 2002: 15)

Yet not withstanding dissenting voices, the national wartime pre-occupation with music was also to have a major influence on those responsible for shaping the English state school curriculum in the era that followed (Cox, 2002). Within primary schools, a post-war revival in the use of hand percussion and bamboo pipes or recorders meant that practical school music-making was at least a possibility for a much larger number of pupils (Holman-Fox, 1993). Many primary schools featured this kind provision alongside singing and Eurhythmics by 1944, according to the McNair Report. This report also noted that a few 'exceptional' junior and primary schools ran instrumental classes and had established school orchestras (Board of Education, 1944: 155). One driving force for this emphasis on instrumental work in the classroom is found in the highly influential Hadow Report of 1931 (Maclure, 1973; Adams *et al*, 2010). This had taken the view that the primary curriculum should 'be thought of in terms of activity and experience, rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored' (Board of Education, 1931, quoted in Maclure, 1973: 189). Percussion bands were thus to become an increasingly common feature of primary school classes during the post-war period thanks in particular to their promotion by Louie de Rusette (Trodd, 1978; Thomson, 1989a; Taylor, 1979; Plummeridge, 2012). In this type of ensemble, children played rhythmic parts on drums, tambourines and triangles, whilst a teacher-pianist supplied harmony and melody. An important aspect of de Rusette's philosophy was that children should be encouraged to regard music work expressively and creatively (as had recently become the norm in Art lessons) and not just as a re-creative performance (Cox, 2002). They were also given responsibility as ensemble conductors (Evans, 2011).

The classroom percussion band, it was argued by proponents, offered opportunities for expression, developing listening skills and an awareness of musical concepts including timbre, rhythm, pulse, accent and form. There were also other-than-musical benefits, including increased concentration, team work and leadership skills (Cox, 2002)<sup>5</sup>.

Class recorder groups also grew in popularity in the primary school at this time (Trodd, 1978; Taylor, 1979; Thomson, 1989a; Plummeridge, 2012). This instrument had received renewed interest following a post-war collaboration between the Dolmetsch family and the instrument manufacturer Boosey and Hawkes that resulted in the development of a good-quality, mass-produced plastic recorder (Hunt, 1998, Evans, 2011). The lower manufacturing costs of this instrument enabled bulk purchasing by local authorities and individual schools. In addition to being highly portable, recorders were seen as having the advantage of melodic interest (unlike the instruments of the percussion band) (Taylor, 1979). They could also combine with percussion, strings or voices (Cleave and Dust, 1989) and had the potential to produce a good tone with relative ease (Evans, 2011).

The tripartite expansion of the secondary school system that accompanied the implementation of the 1944 Education Act thus *theoretically* offered similarly greater opportunities for practical musical activity in schools (Pitts, 2000). There was at least potential for an organised system of progression from classroom percussion and recorder work at the primary stage to orchestral instrumental study in the secondary school, not least because the reorganisation of the school system brought with it an impetus for the appointment of specialist music teachers in both junior and secondary schools and for pupils to receive one music lesson per week (Board of Education, 1944; Brace, 1970; Cox, 2002). Moreover, music was included as a full School Certificate subject for the first time (Cox, 2002). In practice, however, a shortage of suitably-qualified music teachers and a pre-occupation with the overtly academic and theoretical requirements of the new examinations meant that these advances proved to be somewhat self-limiting

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<sup>5</sup> Salaman vividly recalled his fond experiences of playing in a percussion band as a six-year-old primary school pupil in *Living School Music* (Salaman, 1983).

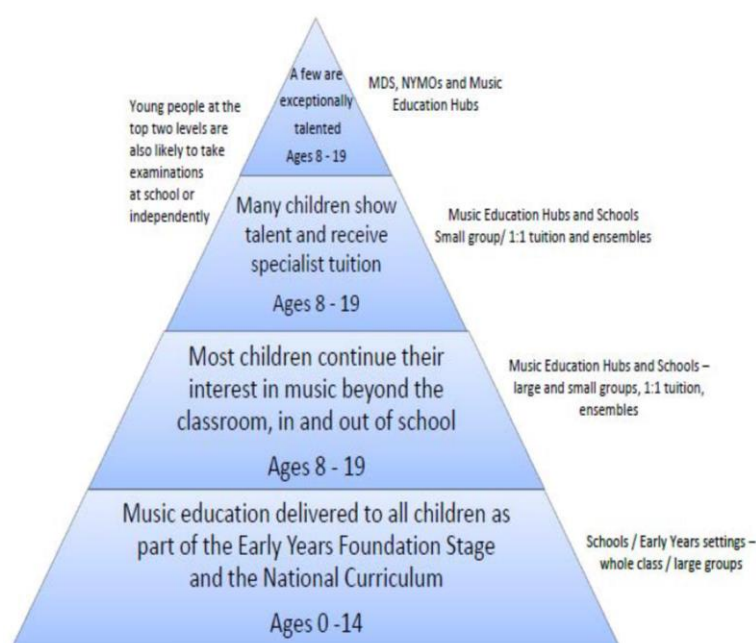
(Brace, 1970; Pitts, 2000; Adams *et al*, 2010). Moreover, these limitations had a particular impact on the adoption of practical, instrumental music-making within pre-examination secondary school music classes, which remained focused on singing, the study of notation and music appreciation to a great extent (McQueen and Hallam, 2010; Adams, McQueen and Hallam, 2010).

Thus, with the exception of string teaching in a few areas (Thomson, 1989a), work with orchestral instruments within the timetable remained relatively rare at this time (Taylor, 1979). This was despite a desire on the part of many individual headteachers to include general music classes for all pupils as part of the curriculum (Brace, 1970). They too had witnessed music's allegedly prominent wartime role and wanted to strengthen its place within the ethos of their schools. Nonetheless, the desire of senior school staff for music-making to be prominent and of high-quality on the one hand and the requirement of the Ministry of Education for 'bright' students to be prepared for academic, scientific and technical examinations on the other led to an inherent tension (Taylor, 1979; McQueen and Hallam, 2010).

Yet for those young people who *did* gain access to this instrumental tuition, there were also new opportunities to perform. Over time, growing numbers of string players in particular meant that school orchestras were becoming a possibility for increasing numbers of secondary schools. In some areas school brass bands, choirs, madrigal groups, and youth opera groups appeared, notwithstanding the pressure of examinations (Cox, 2002; Rainbow and Cox, 2006). Increasingly, however, these pressures meant that practical music-making in secondary schools became an extra-curricular activity (Cox, 2002), catering for the minority of pupils deemed to possess the appropriate 'aptitude' necessary to participate (Adams *et al*, 2010; McQueen and Hallam, 2010). At the same time, local youth orchestras were also beginning to emerge (Cox, 2002; Rainbow and Cox, 2006). 1945 and 1947 saw the founding of the National Youth Orchestras of Wales and Great Britain respectively (Cleave and Dust, 1989a; Adams *et al*, 2010).

Collectively, the emergence in such quick succession of these three distinct types of musical group – the school ensemble, area youth ensemble and national youth ensemble – can be seen as a growing desire to foster and organise instrumental music for children at this time (Taylor, 1979). They are also representative of the emergence of a 'pyramid' or 'apex' model of musical opportunity, in which the participation of ever-fewer, increasingly more 'able' young musicians has been considered the norm (e.g. Trodd; 1978; Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1978; Fletcher, 1987; Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994; Ofsted, 2002). Articulated perhaps for the first time in the McNair Report of 1944, this model remained widely influential as of 2011. Compare the following quote with the recent graphical conceptualisation in figure 3.1:

The function of music teaching in school should be to provide for its continuous development as a means of expression and source of enjoyment throughout life. It should furnish all children with healthy tastes, most children with simple vocal skill and many with instrumental practice; and the exceptionally gifted should be afforded suitable facilities and teaching up to any degree of proficiency (Board of Education, 1944: 155).



**Figure 3.1** Music Education in England conceived as a pyramid (reproduced from Henley, 2011: 12)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> A conceptually similar 'flow chart' is offered as figure 1 in Coopers & Lybrand/MORI (1994)

One pressing concern was how newly-established local authority instrumental tuition schemes should be paid for. It was not long before music advisers, teachers and administrators were faced with the need to allocate scarce post-war resources to fund instrumental tuition and the loan of instruments. There was little clarity regarding what could, or should, be charged to parents. The McNair Report had advised local authorities to ensure that instrumental tuition was 'dependent neither on extra fees nor on the chance of a particular locality or school' (1944: 155). Subsequently, however, Ministry of Education guidelines interpreted the 1944 Education Act as permitting 'any reasonable charge' to be made for instrumental tuition, even if it took place during school hours, advice that quickly led to a multiplicity of provision and funding models (SCAM, 1960). In one post-war scheme described by Hooper (1946)<sup>7</sup>, for example, free lessons were available to groups of around six in school or at the local youth club. At the other extreme, under the arrangements in London from 1947, 'more talented pupils, between the age of 11 and 16, and those of exceptional aptitude at a younger age' received 100% subsidised tuition from private teachers out of school hours (LCC, 1954: 65, quoted in Adams, 2002: 19).

The situation was much the same with regard to the provision of instruments and ensembles, and the subsidising of national courses and junior places at conservatoires. Some authorities offered free instrument loans and generous bursaries (Adams, 2002) but others did not. Similarly, local authorities were encouraged to build up stocks of instruments to provide to beginners, since 'parents will usually be reluctant to purchase an instrument just on the possibility of their child becoming a successful player' (Hooper, 1946: 248). Where public resources were scarce, Hooper suggested asking for instrumental donations and holding fundraising activities.

## **Developments in the 1950s**

The wartime trend for the appointment of music advisers continued throughout the 1950s so that, by the end of that decade, almost half of all

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<sup>7</sup>The local authority in question is believed to have been Bradford but remains anonymous in the original source.



local authorities had them in post (Taylor, 1979; Cleave and Dust, 1989). Following emerging convention, many of these advisers subsequently appointed peripatetic instrumental teachers, leading over time to the formation of further new music services<sup>8</sup> (Cleave and Dust, 1989). By 1957, for example, Gloucestershire's nascent music service consisted of an adviser, an assistant adviser and two peripatetic teachers (Bracey, 1959). Nationally, the majority of teaching appointments were made on a part-time basis and relatively few authorities had dedicated full-time staff, meaning that peripatetic teachers remained a relatively uncommon sight in schools (Bracey, 1959; SCAM, 1960). Nonetheless, the national peripatetic workforce continued gradually grew so that, by 1958, each county council employed an average of 7.6 full-time equivalent instrumental teachers. The figure was 2.5 full-time equivalents in county boroughs (SCAM, 1960). In some cases, the growth in provision was dramatic. Kent's music service<sup>9</sup>, which had begun in 1948 under the auspices of the local RMS with one teacher and around 70 pupils, had eleven full-time and fifty part-time staff by 1958. Collectively, this workforce taught in excess of 2000 pupils.

This growth continued to reflect wartime optimism regarding the moral, social and educational potential of mass instrumental teaching programmes. Yet the 1950s was also the period when this optimism began to give way to the harsh realities of trying to match increasing demand with limited supply. In those early days, Fletcher recalls, 'no one ever thought that instrumental teaching should – or could – cater for a majority of children: the problem was to persuade enough children to give it a try' (1987: 139). Initially, pupils themselves chose 'whether they wished to learn or not' (Rainbow and Cox, 2006: 303) and it was only when it became clear that selections would need to be made for instrumental tuition that 'the relevance of testing for aptitude at length became apparent' (ibid.). A preoccupation for ensuring that scarce teaching resources were targeted at only the most 'deserving' young musicians is evident within the professional literature of the period with concerns expressed regarding 'lazy pupils', 'wastage', children who might

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<sup>8</sup>Twelve percent of the local authorities surveyed by Cleave and Dust (1989) reported that their music services were established in the 1950s.

<sup>9</sup>The SCAM (1960) Report does not actually name Kent as the authority in question. However, careful cross-referencing information within Ibberson (1977) suggests that this the case.

'waste time in failing to learn' (all from SCAM, 1960) and 'inept pupils, jog-trotting along' (Long, 1959: 74).

Help in selecting suitable pupils possessing the 'necessary' aptitude was apparently at hand from the burgeoning academic field of music psychology (Pitts, 2000). In fact, British proponents of musical aptitude testing such as Herbert Wing argued that *not* using some kind of systematic, scientifically-based selection procedure risked overlooking children exhibiting high degrees of musical ability but who did not undertake instrumental tuition 'simply because the idea has not occurred to them or to their parents' (quoted in Mawbey, 1973: 34). Nonetheless, many British teachers remained sceptical of such testing at this time: 'when a teacher's main concern was with raising the level of attainment of all his pupils it was small consolation to him to be able to identify scientifically those individuals with limited aptitude (Rainbow and Cox, 2006: 300). The authors of the SCAM report found that, as of 1958, tests were not yet widely accepted by teachers, notwithstanding anecdotal reports that suggested that pupil 'wastage' was reduced where they were used.

Rainbow and Cox (2006) attribute this animosity down to a contemporary failure of the English musician, teacher and psychologist to work together and thus it would be a mistake to assume that all music teachers shared the widespread belief amongst psychologists at this time that each individual possessed a certain level of musical ability which was 'genetically based, relatively immutable and unchanging' (Hallam and Creech, 2010: 87). Indeed, the authors of the SCAM report argued that: 'it is now known for certain that musical talent in children is far more widespread than was formerly supposed. But of course many will remain mute and inglorious unless they are given a chance' (SCAM, 1960: 12).

In fact, some commentators used emergent findings from music psychologists to argue for *increased* access to instrumental tuition. As early as 1946, Hooper's systematic review of the available data had convinced him that musical 'ability' was part of the normal human condition and that 'the invisible frontier between the musical and the unmusical is not clearly defined

and that it can be crossed with training' (Hooper, 1946: 27). Similarly, Mainwaring, whose interests in music psychology had influenced his views on music teaching (McPherson and Gabrielsson, 2002), drew on the work of Seashore and Wing to argue that levels of musical aptitude were likely to be distributed relatively normally over any given group of pupils. This, he argued in 1951, demonstrated the importance of incorporating general music teaching into the school timetable:

the important practical implication is that, *if the musical experiences of the class are sufficiently wide and comprehensive, some of the class will show aptitude for most of them, and most of the class will show aptitude for some of them*, particularly in the early stages before divergence widens (Mainwaring, 1951: 4, emphasis in original).

Nonetheless, Mainwaring also conceded that 'about 10% will gradually begin to show marked proficiency and will justify their selection for special training' (ibid.)<sup>10</sup>. Mainwaring took the view that the teaching of string instruments in schools represented 'the greatest advance made in school music in recent years' but that 'the first problem of the teacher is that of selecting the children most suitable for violin work' (1951: 43). Nonetheless, he was cautious regarding the use of aptitude tests:

because such tests agree very closely with teachers' estimates it would seem reasonable for teachers to make the selection from their experience of the children's relative responsiveness to their teaching (Mainwaring, 1951: 43).

Mainwaring's selective enlisting of tests of musical aptitude to support his arguments is perhaps indicative of the frequently ambivalent, yet nonetheless widespread, attachment to such tests that would emerge amongst class and instrumental music teachers, advisers and local authority administrators in the coming decades (see Mawbey, 1973; Cooper, 1985; Plummeridge, 1991; Cleave and Dust, 1989a; Thomson, 1989c; Hallam, 2010). Summing up his arguments, Pitts observes:

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<sup>10</sup> This is the first reference to the 10% found in the literature since the estimate seen by William McNaught for take up of the Maidstone group violin system before the first world war (Evans, 2011).

Although Mainwaring's refreshing emphasis on the enjoyment and experience of music was a timely challenge to the most dreary renderings of the 'music appreciation' approach, the development of music psychology was also to have a potentially damaging effect, with a new focus on musical ability testing undermining the belief that music should be equally accessible to all children (Pitts, 2000: 206).

As is explored in more detail in Chapter 4, more recent music psychological research has cast new light on what musical 'aptitude' tests might actually be measuring in reality.

For those pupils who *were* selected to learn, tuition in the 1950s tended to follow the growing convention of small group and individual lessons occurring outside school hours and during lunch times (Long, 1959)<sup>11</sup>. Strings remained most common instruments to be taught (SCAM 1960), presumably still on the basis of portability, cost, conventional ensemble groupings and the availability of repertoire. In contrast, only 12% of tuition was on wind instruments, which were more expensive in comparison (Cox, 2002). Writing about the maintained grammar sector in the mid-1950s, Long (1959) noted that demand for tuition varied from school to school. Where there were only a few places available, these were usually filled quickly. In schools with more established traditions of instrumental teaching, active steps were taken to recruit. The early 1950s also witnessed the development of a further form of provision: the Saturday morning 'music school' (Trodd, 1978). This was deemed to have several advantages. Not only was it seen as a means of broadening access to provision, particularly to schools and areas not traditionally served by peripatetic staff, it also eased the imbalance between tuition at primary and secondary school (Thomson, 1959a). Significantly too, it offered a further forum for youth orchestras, bands and choirs and, no doubt partly as a result of these developments, by 1958 around half county and borough authorities or more maintained youth ensembles (SCAM, 1960; NMC, 2002; Evans, 2011).

The mid-1950s offer the first large-scale surveys of the emerging situation in local authority music services and the schools and young people they served.

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<sup>11</sup>Other systems of tuition did exist at this time. For instance, in some cities, pupils from several schools visited a 'static' instrumental teacher (Long, 1959).

The Standing Conference for Amateur Music's (SCAM) survey, conducted in 1958, suggested that provision was far from even between the primary sector and the three types of selective secondary school (table 3.1). Whilst over two-thirds of maintained grammar and technical schools had access to music service tuition, only just over one-third of secondary modern schools enjoyed this access. Pupils in 95% of county council primary schools had no access at all (SCAM, 1960)<sup>12</sup>.

**Table 3.1** Schools in receipt of instrumental tuition in 1958, by phase and type (SCAM, 1960).

Type of local authority	Percentage of Primary Schools where pupils received tuition	Percentage of Grammar and Technical Schools where pupils received tuition	Percentage of Secondary Modern Schools where pupils received tuition
County Council	5%	69%	36%
County Borough	16%	71%	34%

Moreover, the overall figure for grammar school provision may well have masked significant disparities between boys' and girls' schools. Long's 1954-56 survey suggested that 86% of boys' maintained grammar schools offered tuition, whereas only 69% of girls' schools did. The figure was lower still in co-educational maintained grammars, where only 54% offered instrumental tuition (Long, 1959). Long attributed these differences to a continuing emphasis on girls receiving individual piano tuition as an optional extra. In his view, cultural associations between piano tuition and feminine accomplishment took precedent over opportunities to study orchestral instruments. Whilst half of the grammar schools in Long's survey could boast school orchestras, these were significantly biased towards those institutions educating boys.

The differences in provision for grammar and secondary modern schools highlighted in table 3.1 reflected the doctrine of educational streaming that followed the 1944 Act. Mainwaring (1951) offered evidence to suggest that the lower levels of instrumental tuition provision in secondary modern schools could have a significant impact on the range of extra-curricular activities that were possible. Or, perhaps, the inverse was true and those extra-curricular activities deemed 'appropriate' for the secondary modern pupil made fewer demands on local authority instrumental teaching programmes. Mainwaring

<sup>12</sup>Although in a few more remote areas, a lack of local authority provision was alleviated by a continuing partnership with the local Rural Music School (Long, 1959).

(1951) documented the extra-curricular musical activities of a group of secondary schools 'each but a few miles from the other' (p47). The first three schools, secondary moderns all, specialised in choral work, percussion bands and four- and five-part recorder consorts respectively. The fourth, however, was a grammar school, and could boast, 'with staff reinforcement an efficient orchestra' (ibid.)<sup>13</sup>. That the grammar school could not only boast the requisite number of orchestral players but also further players from amongst the staff offers a subtle, qualitative comment on the figures presented in table 3.1.

In addition to variation between school types and phases, contemporary evidence suggests significant variation in provision from authority to authority. The authors of the SCAM report certainly complained that whilst many local authorities were making ambitious plans for instrumental tuition, the education system as a whole remained unready and ill-equipped to deal with these developments (SCAM, 1960). The report concluded that even local authorities close to each other could have very different levels of provision. Recalling the situation at this time, Fletcher (1987) described the 'musical milieu in which various forms of music teaching, privately and sometimes in class in the grammar school, took place' (Fletcher, 1987: 140). Bracey (1959) observed that the whole thrust of local educational policy could vary from authority to authority in this area. In Somerset, for example, the county music and education committees remained concerned with adult amateur music education to a far great extent than children's music making. At one extreme, there were some authorities that would just 'license' private teachers to work in individual schools<sup>14</sup>, whilst at the other, 'there are LEAs<sup>15</sup> which make themselves responsible for the whole initiation of introducing instrumental tuition to the schools by engaging peripatetic teachers to start classes in different schools and by purchasing large stocks of instruments to lend to

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13 Long (1959) notes that recorder teaching, was typically viewed in maintained grammar schools at this time as merely an aid to musical study, rather than providing instrumental technique in its own right.

14 The practice of local authorities offering lists of 'accredited' or 'approved' private instrumental teachers in lieu of employing their own staff has recently re-emerged as part of the delivery strategies of some Music Education Hubs (e.g. Murray, 2015)

15 I have retained the abbreviation 'LEA' (local education authority) in all direct quotations of texts written whilst this term was in widespread use. Elsewhere, I have used the term 'local authority', reflecting current official designation.

prospective pupils' (Long, 1959: 70). Where the system worked best, Long felt, was in areas where schools and the local authority had taken on a collective responsibility for instrumental tuition. Thus, schools might buy the instruments and the authority might supply teachers, or the school and authority might share responsibility for employing them. In such cases, headteachers reported valuing highly the contribution of the music service to school life. Too often, Long lamented however, this level of collaboration was absent and schools relied on the efforts of individual enthusiastic teachers to make music 'work':

the experience of the present writer has been that a really flourishing instrumental scheme within a maintained [grammar] school has had to resort to some sort of ingenuity (often involving hardship for individuals), financial outlay, or plain evasion so as to be able to make worth-while use of the LEA's help, where provided, or, where no help is forthcoming, to survive without it (Long, 1959: 74).

Thus, according to Long (1959) secondary school heads of music were often faced with significant additional administration in order to facilitate an effective peripatetic programme (e.g. timetabling, dealing with teacher illness, investigating pupil absence, avoiding clashes with other extracurricular activities, grouping pupils, remonstrating with parents and administering instrument hire/loan schemes). Long recommended that additional free timetable periods be allocated to these individuals to manage this increased load<sup>16</sup>.

The parental fee model evolved slightly during the 1950s, with the adoption of fees according to lesson type. In his survey of the period 1954 to 1956, Long notes that group-based tuition was most likely to remain free or at low cost, 'the principle being that no child should be debarred from teaching which the [local authority] officially provides by the inability to pay a fee' (1959: 73). Unfortunately, local authorities frequently enforced a minimum group size of eight pupils, leading to problems when individuals wished to cease tuition and the number of pupils that remained dipped below this threshold. To avoid this situation, schools could be compelled to group together widely differing standards of player, or even players of different

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<sup>16</sup>Regrettably, those with experience of running school music departments in the twenty-first century will no doubt recognise these issues!

instruments, to make tuition 'viable'. In some cases, schools would hire additional private teachers to teach those pupils whose parents sought individual lessons but the fees were typically passed on at full cost. This was unfortunate in Long's view since 'the gap between what many parents of pupils in maintained schools can afford to pay for music lessons and the amount needed to provide private teachers with a living wage is considerable' (1959: 74). Instruments, Long reports, were sometimes lent without a fee, but this was not the general case and some authorities did charge fees for both tuition and instrument hire. Being able to offer pupils an instrument for loan or hire was reported by Long as a powerful means of encouragement for them to take up lessons and was obviously popular with parents. Long offers a case study of provision in one maintained city grammar school. Heavily subsidised tuition was available in groups of up to four and no charge was made for the loan of instruments from school stock. In another example, in Gloucestershire in 1957, class lessons and instruments were made available via the local community council, acting as an agent for the local authority (Bracey, 1959). Students paid a 'small fee', with the rest of cost subsidised by the local authority. By 1958, the Standing Committee on Amateur Music found that one third of borough authorities and one quarter of county authorities were requiring parental contributions towards group lessons, sometimes on an inverse sliding scale with group size (SCAM, 1960). Some authorities imposed a nominal sum of between 3d and 1s per lesson. Others left payment a matter for individual schools. All of Kent's 2,000 instrumental pupils were reported to be paying for their lessons by this time.

The Standing Committee found that most local authorities were assisting children acquire instruments through loan, hire or hire purchase schemes (SCAM, 1960). Music Services typically spent between £250 and £500 a year on instrumental purchases (figures that were tiny in comparison to the costs associated with supporting other school subjects, the report's authors noted). Nonetheless, between 10% and 14% of authorities offered no support in any way. In such cases, schools were occasionally prevailed upon to buy the instruments on pupils' behalf.



Tensions arising from the need to balance cost with access are prominent in the surveys by Long (1959) and SCAM (1960). Within the maintained grammar schools, Long noted that 'the only qualification to learn an instrument normally required by a pupil is his desire to do so and the ability of his parents to pay the fee, if any' (1959: 67). This situation, he argued, should not occur, and free or subsidised tuition should be available to all those who merited it, at the expense of those who did not. If necessary, Long believed, the numbers allowed to undertake tuition should be controlled in order to ease administration, limit group size and provide a better balance between different instruments. The emerging model of offering free or low cost group tuition was viewed by the Standing Committee very much as a 'means to the end' of individual teaching, since 'only a very industrious or gifted child, under a gifted teacher, can become proficient at an instrument from group tuition alone, and even then its progress will be retarded by other members of the group' (SCAM, 1960: 15). The Committee argued that whilst reduced fees for tuition within larger groups were sometimes available, such arrangements could, in their view, be inequitable because, 'a child who works hard enough to deserve individual or near-individual instruction should not have to pay more than the lazy child who is content to plod along in a group which costs him nothing' (ibid: 16). Nonetheless, the Committee concluded, 'this arrangement does at least give him scope to develop his abilities' (ibid.). Overall, the Standing Committee found a 'multiplicity' of policies regarding payment, often in the same authority. This it attributed to trying to reconcile two opposing views: firstly, that group instrumental tuition should be treated like any other school subject and therefore free, and secondly that it required specialist teachers, recruited outside normal staffing allocations and that the children who benefited from this provision should contribute to the cost.

Developments within school policy continued to emphasise instrumental music-making as an extracurricular activity. The need to prepare pupils for university entrance meant that schools continued to favour examination subjects traditionally perceived as 'academic' (Taylor, 1979). Furthermore, physical resources for music teaching in many schools remained poor during the 1950s (Pitts, 2000). Perhaps as a result of such factors, take up was poor and examination data covering the period 1954-56 suggested that for every

pupil studying for Music O Level, about nine were studying for Art and about twenty were studying for English Literature (Long, 1959). The SCAM Report also highlighted this low take-up, noting that it also extended to Music A (Advanced) Level. It suggested that, in the case of music, it would be better not to think of the 'O Level' as 'ordinary level' since successful preparation for this qualification within the 'ordinary' school curriculum was unrealistic. Moreover, it concluded, schools could not justify expanding instrumental teaching programmes when only so few pupils were seen to make use of the resulting skills in school examinations. In response to calls for a new practical curriculum in the mid-1950s (Pitts, 2000), the 1959 Crowther Report sought to make 'artistic or creative education as much a respectable part of the general educational system as the largely analytical tradition of the schools' (quoted in Taylor, 1959, 16). To this end, the report argued (unsuccessfully) for the incorporation of orchestra rehearsals within the timetable. A further challenge to school instrumental activity came in the form of continuing teacher shortages. Applicants for secondary teaching positions often came from university backgrounds where performance work was not emphasised. Some headteachers found it preferable to advertise for teachers of other subjects who could turn their hand to an instrument as a second subject (Long, 1959).

Additional developments at this time included the establishment of the National Youth Brass Band and the associated National Schools' Brass Band Association in 1952 (Taylor, 1979; Thompson, 1985). The former was intended to function as counterpart to the National Youth Orchestra<sup>17</sup>, taking brass music out of its traditional all-male, workplace-related context and making it more accessible within schools. The latter was tasked with publishing appropriate, affordable school band repertoire and teaching manuals and for organising non-competitive festivals<sup>18</sup>. A further national educational ensemble, the British Youth Symphony Orchestra was established in 1954 (Cleave and Dust, 1989). Internationally, new communications technology and increased access to air travel meant that the

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<sup>17</sup>Despite significant successes, Thompson (1985) argues that the work of these organisations never received the prominence or acknowledgement of that of the National Youth Orchestra.

<sup>18</sup>The organisation became the 'National School Band Association' in 1979-80, welcoming wind bands and increasing its membership significantly in the process (Thompson, 1985).

educational philosophies of figures such as Orff and Suzuki could become more influential in the 1950s (Taylor, 1979; McCarthy, 2004). One prominent example of this international outlook was the institution in 1953 of the NMC, formed as part of the International Music Council and affiliated to UNESCO (Taylor, 1979).

### **Developments in the 1960s**

Forty percent of the local authorities surveyed by Cleave and Dust (1989) reported that their music services were established during the 1960s and, by a conservative estimate<sup>19</sup>, between fifty and sixty percent of all authorities had established instrumental teaching provision by the end of this decade (Trodd, 1978). By 1966, 110 of 135 local authorities had music advisers (Taylor, 1979). These professionals were supported by a team of Her Majesty's specialist music inspectors who provided training and liaised between policy makers and practitioners. The model of small group teaching at the elementary stage, followed by individual tuition at more advanced stages, was a fixture by now, as was the pattern of withdrawing children from school lessons or teaching at lunchtime or after school (Brace, 1970; Trodd, 1978). In 1961, the National Association of Youth Orchestras was formed to represent the growing number of youth orchestras across the country (Cleave and Dust, 1989). This decade also saw the expansion of woodwind and brass teaching to rival the traditional dominance of the strings. A call for teachers and ensemble leaders was often answered by wind musicians retiring from the armed services (Trodd, 1978). The British Youth Wind Orchestra was founded in 1968 (through sponsorship from Boosey and Hawkes) as a means of providing an 'orchestral' experience for growing numbers of wind players (Thompson, 1985)<sup>20</sup>.

The reorganisation of local government in London provided an impetus for consolidating and expanding provision in the capital (Cleave and Dust, 1989). Between 1966 and 1973 the central music staff of the newly created Inner

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<sup>19</sup>Hallam (2012) implies that this figure might have been still higher, suggesting that 'most' authorities had a music service by the end of the 1960s.

<sup>20</sup>These developments led to a gradual upsurge of interest in pupils playing instruments such as flute and clarinet so that these featured prominently in lists of instruments taught by music services in the 1980s (Cleave and Dust, 1989).

London Education Authority (ILEA) grew from three inspectors to 17 staff. This team had its own budget for the employment of part-time specialist instrumental teachers (Adams, 2002). Significant expansion was also witnessed in other metropolitan authorities. Birmingham appointed its first twelve peripatetic teachers in 1963, but the team had increased to 24 by 1968 (Taylor, 1979). The model established in Birmingham was to deliver strings tuition in primary schools, with woodwind and brass introduced at in secondary schools. Youth orchestras and bands soon followed to support this work. A survey at the end of the decade noted that the West Riding boasted a 'whole network' of music schools and a 'veritable army' of peripatetic tutors (Brace, 1970: 17). In authorities such as West Riding, the report's author optimistically suggested, 'no one needs be denied the opportunity of learning an instrument and playing in an orchestra' (Brace, 1970: 17).

Looking back on the period, commentators have tended to view the 1960s as a period in which instrumental teaching 'flourished' in English schools (Cleave and Dust, 1989) and in which free tuition became 'commonplace' (Holman-Fox, 1993). Standards and expectations were high (Dalby, 1966) and, for some, the 1960s ushered in a perceived 'halcyon period' that would last until the 1980s:

Local authority music services, blessed with secure funding, had boosted the numbers of young people learning to play a wide range of instruments across the country. They provided peripatetic teachers to schools and ran choirs, bands, orchestras and ensembles. Generations of kids tried out a range of instruments that their parents might never have thought of and could not have afforded. Britain's orchestras are stuffed with players who say they owe their careers to a teacher at school suggesting they might like to give the horn or the oboe or the bassoon a try (Richard Morris, ABRSM Chief Executive, quoted in Kingston, 2006: 3).

Even as a middle-class kid, I could not have become a musician without the huge, varied infrastructure of music services provided by Liverpool in the 1960s.... 75 per cent of orchestral players would not be playing today if there wasn't free instrumental provision (Simon Rattle, quoted in NACCCE, 1999: 163).

This general expansion in instrumental provision in many areas coincided with significant change within national educational policy. By the second half

of the 1960s, the 'comprehensivisation' of the secondary school system was well under way (Adams *et al*, 2010). For those taking Morris's and Rattle's view, the expansion of local authority instrumental tuition formed a logical, additional strand to the emerging equality of opportunity agenda. Such an argument provided ILEA with leverage to lobby for additional resources to form Pimlico's Centre for Young Musicians and the authority's Special Music Course (Adams, 2002). Within primary schools, too, teachers were urged by the influential Plowden Report of 1967 to broaden pupils' music-making opportunities and to focus on individual and small group musical development rather than massed hymn and festival singing (Ward, 1998).

Increasing access to music through the mass media provided a particular cultural influence at this time. Recorded music, in particular, was becoming a pervasive feature in the lives of young people with the juvenile market netting £250,000 for record companies every Saturday by 1964 (Taylor, 1979). The growing influence of pop music and of pop stars would be further fuelled by the increasing dominance of television (Trodd, 1978) and the instruments associated with these trends would soon become the desired option for many young people, with guitar, drums and piano particular favourites (Thackray, 1972). The growing importance of music in youth culture was identified by the Newsom Report, which noted that it was a:

potent force in the lives of many young people. It is a natural source of recreation, and one form of activity which can be carried on from school through adult life; its contribution to both the school community and the larger community can be notable. It deserves generous encouragement (Newsom Report, 1963, quoted in Fletcher, 1987: 125).

Some local authorities did respond to this changing demand. West Riding, for instance, had appointed full-time guitar teachers as early as 1961, claiming to be first authority so to do (Taylor, 1979).

Yet despite significant investment to expand the system and a changing educational and social climate, estimates put the total number of pupils in receipt of tuition in the 1960s at around 8% to 10% of the school population. This figure, as will be shown, would remain largely unchanging into the 1980s and beyond (Hallam, 2012, and see below). Such estimates naturally raise

the questions of who 'the 10%' were and how had they come by this opportunity when others had not. Some, it seems, did have concerns along these lines at the time. Recalling beginning her career as an instrumental teacher in Leicester in the early 1960s, Hallam (1985) has written:

Already, I had experienced misgivings about the over-exuberance of some colleagues towards instrumental music in school and the rapid development of county schools of music. It was not that I felt anything intrinsically wrong with school instrumental music activity but rather with the methods of selection, falling vocal standards in schools, and catering for less than 10% of the school population in this area, leaving 90% not feeling involved and only too happy to let the 'musician' get on with music (Hallam, 1985: 6).

By this time, the notion of 'selection' was increasingly recognised as a pragmatic necessity within instrumental tuition programmes. Unless schools and local authorities had 'unlimited funds' and 'plenty of teachers' at their disposal, wrote one music adviser in the mid-1960s, it can't offer the opportunity to play an orchestral instrument (Dalby, 1966: 3). In any case, this adviser felt, opinions varied as to the appropriateness of offering tuition to all and teachers were divided on whether the 'the unpromising stumblings of the less apt pupils are therefore worthwhile' (ibid., p2). Those who were not selected for tuition needed to be let down gently, however, and ought to be told that they would be better listeners for having tried. Mawbey's assessment of one local authority's selection procedures in 1969 shared this growing sense of pragmatic realism:

It would be impracticable to provide specialist tuition for all pupils, even if the benefits to be derived from it might make it seem desirable, and since the levels of musical ability to be found in a normal population might seem to make the learning of an instrument an activity which is likely to prove unrewarding for a proportion of pupils in schools, the view taken here is that some system of selection is essential if wastage from instrumental classes is not to be excessive (Mawbey, 1973: 33).

The solution in Mawbey's view was to make more systematic usage of musical aptitude tests in order to assist in identifying pupils 'who have no musical talent, and perhaps in turning-up hidden talent' (Mawbey, 1973: 42). Yet the findings of his own survey, conducted in one unnamed local authority in 1969, revealed that such tests had only been employed in two of 43 schools. Whilst aptitude testing was increasingly recommended in this period

(e.g. Dalby, 1966), there is evidence to suggest that many schools and authorities preferred to rely on other, typically less formal methods. Mawbey also investigated the selection processes in use in the authority. In over one third of schools, individual pupils were approached with the offer of instrumental tuition, a procedure which, concluded Mawbey, implied the view 'that all children are not equally well-equipped to cope with instrumental work' (1973: 35). Writing in the mid-1960s, Dalby also stressed the view that school teachers needed to be vigilant to spot 'talent' that might otherwise be missed. As discussed in Chapter 4, this idea was similarly expressed a decade later in the Gulbenkian *Training Musicians* report.

Contrary to the recollections of those adopting the 'halcyon view', there is evidence that the charging of parental fees, either as a premium for individual tuition (Trodd, 1978) or in order to fund service expansion (Hallam, 2012), became an increasingly common policy in the 1960s. This was, of course, in itself a form of implicit selection on financial grounds (see Chapter 4). Some parents were 'happy to and could afford to pay for tuition, pleased that such opportunities were being made available during the school day' (Hallam, 2012: 4). Nonetheless, local authorities continued to vary considerably in their willingness to increase public subsidy for the benefit of those not in such a propitious position and, inevitably, in some cases at least, this meant that children from poorer backgrounds could have been precluded (Trodd, 1978).

The Newsom Report of 1963 found significant variation in the overall quality of school<sup>21</sup> music provision (Taylor, 1979). In some areas and schools, music was flourishing, 'extending beyond the classroom to choirs, orchestras, brass bands, concerts, informal club activities' (quoted in Taylor, 1979, 17). In many others it was poorly resourced and perceived as a 'low status' subject (Thackray, 1972; Plummeridge, 1991). Like the Plowden report which followed, Newsom also identified a predominance of singing in over instrumental activity; such a focus could be particularly problematic, the report argued, for pupils going through adolescent vocal change (Adams *et al*, 2010). As an alternative, 'brass band work... has often proved more

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<sup>21</sup>Given the range of activities commented upon by Newsom, the term 'school' has been taken to include all local authority musical provision here.

successful with pupils of quite limited general ability, and a practical approach through instruments can be much more effective than 'appreciation' classes' (Newsom Report, 1963, quoted in Fletcher, 1987: 125). Whilst the introduction of the Certificate of Secondary Education in 1965 did have a liberalising influence on musical activity in schools (Taylor, 1979), the findings of the Schools Council 'Enquiry 1' report (1968) proved to be a 'major blow' (Thackray, 1972: 53). This report suggested that music was one of the least popular subjects amongst pupils, ranking at the bottom of tables for both 'usefulness' and 'interest' (Calouste Gulbenkian, 1978; Cooper, 1985). The report stimulating considerable soul-searching amongst teachers and musicians (Calouste Gulbenkian, 1978), some of whom were quick to draw a distinction between the views expressed within the Enquiry 1 report and the perceived successes due to the major expansion in local authority music services going on at the same time (Cooper, 1985):

Their reaction, it must be stressed, is against curricular music rather than against music itself. Extra-curricular activities are often vital and exciting, the demand for instrumental tuition exceeds the supply of teachers, experimental concerts are well patronised by young people, and music occupies a prominent place in the current teenage culture (Dobbs, in Brace, 1970: vi).

Thus, instrumental music (beyond traditional 'classroom' instruments) again remained as an extra-curricular activity at this time. According to Dalby (1966: 3) very few schools had the 'courage' to adopt whole class instrumental teaching, since this required 'favourable circumstances' and 'specially equipped teachers'. Successful group teaching required exceptional skill according to Dalby, and was rarely successful beyond the elementary level. Whilst handling instruments could give all pupils pleasure, he reflected, it was probably for the best that more advanced work remained extra-curricular, since many children were likely to discover that they weren't very good and, in their disappointment, become disillusioned with music more generally.

### **Developments in the 1970s**

The 1970s witnessed further expansion in local authority instrumental teaching provision. 24% of the local authorities surveyed by Cleave and Dust



(1989) reported that their music services were established in the 1970s and, by the end of the decade, the great majority of authorities had this provision in place (Lawrence, 1975; Baker, 2005). For some, this meant that opportunities for instrumental learning both within and beyond the curriculum offered a 'plethora of opportunities' (Evans, 2011: 9). Nonetheless, for the first time in the evolution of these services, there were notable losses as well as gains. The implementation in 1974 of the 1972 Local Government Act had a significant impact on the organisation of music services in many areas, particularly in its redrawing of many authority boundaries (Cleave and Dust, 1989). Whilst some services benefited from inheriting new resources and geographical 'territory', for others, a division of staffing and resources, often accompanied by a sudden need to provide tuition in new areas, destabilised finances. Another outcome of this reorganisation was that some music advisory posts were subsumed into general, non-specialist roles with the effect that specialist skills were lost to the workforce (Taylor, 1979). The worsening national economic outlook offered a further challenge. Earlier in the decade, music services had begun to benefit from cheaper instruments imported from the Far East (Taylor, 1979). However, as time went on, financial constraints restricted stock replenishment, even allowing for educational bulk discounts (Trodd, 1978). As a result, more local authorities were forced to implement parental fees for the first time (Cleave and Dust, 1989).

Despite this more challenging operating context, youth orchestras, in particular, were by now very well-established and many could boast growing national and international reputations (Trodd, 1978). The European Community Youth Orchestra was formed in 1977 (Taylor, 1979) and drew one third of its initial membership from the UK (Trodd, 1978). The launch of the National Festival of Music for Youth (NFMY) in 1971 provided further impetus for ensemble work. 4000 young musicians participated in the inaugural event and the festival was set to grow in size and reputation in the decade ahead (Peggie, 1985). Wind ensembles also became more common in the 1970s, catering for the larger numbers who were by now studying these instruments (Taylor, 1979; Thompson, 1985). One aspect of provision to develop particularly in this period was the Music Centre. These were typically

established to provide permanent rehearsal venues for ensembles, as well as to host tuition on less common, or less portable, instruments. They also provided a home for existing Saturday morning music schools (Taylor, 1979). Two hundred such centres were in operation by 1978 (Calouste Gulbenkian, 1978). However, as explored in Chapter 4, they presented access challenges as well.

An estimate by the authors of the Calouste Gulbenkian Report 'Making Musicians' put the number of young people learning an instrument at around 5%<sup>22</sup> of school population in 1978. On the basis of this estimate, it seems that additional expansion in the local authority system as a whole did not lead to an associated increase in the numbers receiving tuition. More generally, a survey of 800 children in Reading and Manchester found that almost two thirds of girls but only one third of boys reported that they had ever played a musical instrument (Thackray, 1972). Long-standing variation in policy and provision between different local authorities was by now reflected in very different educational and musical philosophies in different areas of the country. One former Music HMI observed in 1978 that some authorities appeared to target resources on the needs of 'gifted' performers at the expense of opportunities for majority whereas others sought to involve as many young people as possible in order to encourage talent in local community. 'There is a place for great variety in aims', the HMI argued, 'though above all must be the opportunity for the maximum number of young players to experience ensemble playing at their own level' (Trodd, 1978: 15). Yet in the view of Lawrence, this variation, together with the increasing presence of parental fees, definitely had an impact on young people's ability to access provision:

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<sup>22</sup>Thomson (1989a) calculated this that this implied a total of 500,000 learners. However, as Cleave and Dust (1989) note, it is not entirely clear whether this figure includes those learning privately or teaching themselves.

Education authorities interpret their responsibilities in this field with considerable elasticity. While in some areas a child can receive free tuition on two instruments, free travelling (where necessary from his home to a centre), and even free hiring of instruments, in others, his parents are made to pay for such facilities not only through local and national taxation, but also direct for what are described as 'additional' facilities... The system of parental contributions to the financing of instrumental tuition works, therefore, only in as far as there are willing parents to support the scheme. This inevitably means many children whose parents cannot afford such bills are effectively deprived of that part of musical education which most children find most satisfying. Even where the local authority is willing to cover the expenses involved, there is still a marked tendency for the children of the lower-income groups to be deprived of these opportunities, for the social problems of when and where to practise the instruments cannot usually be solved in the home. It is only when only instruments and tuition are provided free but also accommodation is provided for the daily practise of instruments that equal opportunities will be provided in musical education (Lawrence, 1975:19-20).

1975 witnessed the beginning of a campaign by saxophonist and composer Bill Ashton to increase the ensemble opportunities for pop and jazz musicians (Taylor, 1979). Ashton, who had formed the National Youth Jazz Orchestra ten years earlier, pointed out that of the 31,000 members of the Musicians' Union, fewer than 2,000 were employed in the classical performance field. A related development was the 'Wavendon All Music Plan', instigated in 1970 by John Dankworth and Cleo Laine at their theatre and workshop complex in Milton Keynes. The intention was to offer short courses featuring as many diverse musical styles as possible, including world music. The motivations behind such initiatives were reflected in the work of some prominent writers on school music at the time. Vulliamy (1976) for instance, attacked the 'elitist view' that classical music was superior and that jazz, rock, soul and non-Western styles were not 'real' music. At the same time, music teacher and writer Paul Farmer pioneered the use of pop music in the curriculum at Holland Park School, London (Attwood and Farmer, 1978). Farmer felt that much about the subject remained elitist, favouring children from middle class families (see Chapter 4). He subsequently offered an extended critique on local authority instrumental tuition, arguing that peripatetic teachers' time would be better used by bolstering the number of class music teachers and providing all pupils with short bursts of small group instrumental tuition on a

rotating basis (Farmer, 1979). Like Farmer, Vulliamy (1976) felt that the whole notion of peripatetic tuition was laudable yet misguided and argued for a 'fairer' allocation of resources. Significantly, too, he argued that all children have musical interests or were capable of developing them. Collectively, developments such as these suggest that the belief in the primacy of the Western classical tradition was beginning to be challenged in the 1970s (Pitts, 2000).

Witkin (1974) conducted extensive interviews with creative arts teachers in 36 schools in Cambridge and the South of England over a three-year period in the early 1970s. The results showed a very mixed picture of curricular and extra-curricular music in the eyes of teachers. For some, reported Witkin:

achievements with choirs and orchestras made up of the 'musical minority' brighten the scene here and there, providing sustenance and balm for the class-weary teacher. However, this gratification is relatively short-lived, and the teacher must sooner or later face the fact that in all probability he has not found the secret of making music a fulfilling experience for other than the 'musically inclined' minority of the pupils (Witkin, 1974: 118).

For the first time, too, evidence was emerging to suggest that part of the system which maintained and nourished the music service peripatetic workforce remained socially selective. Data provided to the Calouste Gulbenkian Enquiry into Training Musicians by the Royal Northern College of Music had shown that, between 1974 and 1976, over 60% of the College's students were from families where the father was engaged in an administrative, managerial, professional or technical occupation (professional groups traditionally associated with the middle classes (Sapsford, 2007)). The Gulbenkian authors noted that the percentage of middle class students at the College was higher than for higher education students in general and concluded that the finding illustrated 'the extent to which having the right parents still governs future careers in the music profession' (1978: 32).

Against this background, some commentators began to challenge the role of local authority music services openly, both for their perceived social and stylistic elitism. Adams (2002) notes that within Central London, concerns over the perceived 'elitist' nature of instrumental music tuition began to be

raised from the early 1970s. A Times Educational Supplement (TES) article profiling the ILEA Music Service in June 1973 suggested that its aims were in tension with the 'egalitarian strategies of the ILEA's Labour majority', catering largely for the 'instrument-playing minority of the school population and, in particular the much smaller group who show clear musical promise' (Jackson, 1973: 18, quoted in Adams, 2002: 52). The critics did not doubt, Adams notes, that 'these particular inner-city pupils living in an area of deprivation were clearly benefiting from the free instrumental lessons and loaned instruments that were available to them', nor that 'ILEA clearly offered a significant number of pupils a gateway to becoming skilled players and performers' (Adams, 2002: 48). Rather, the primary concern being raised was that resourcing and staffing limitations meant that it was impossible to ensure that 'all 1,200 schools could offer what was taking place in the best of them'. (Jackson, 1973: 18, quoted in Adams, 2002: 48). ILEA's recently established Centre for Young Musicians and its Special Music Course were singled out. Despite their significant cost, Adams notes, these institutions only reached a relative minority of pupils and offered a classical curriculum intended to prepare young musicians for high level orchestral work<sup>23</sup>.

### **Changing circumstances in the 1980s**

By the beginning of the 1980s, it was clear that the period of expansion that had begun after the war was coming to an end. The vast majority of local authorities who had ambitions in this area had, by now, established music services and only two percent of authorities surveyed by Cleave and Dust (1989) reported setting up new services after 1979. In the view of some, the contribution made by music services to the musical life of the nation over this thirty-year period was considerable by this time. Writing of his childhood in the early 1950s, Fletcher recalled the challenge faced by the resident organist in trying to assemble 'half a dozen scratchy violinists' for a performance of Handel's Messiah. The situation was very different in the

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<sup>23</sup>It should be noted that a significant change of emphasis occurred within ILEA when John Stephens took over as staff inspector for music in 1976. Adams notes: 'Stephens was fully in agreement with the need for excellence in music education but he wanted a better deal for all children. When asked at interview what he perceived to be his principal aim for ILEA Music Service, he unhesitatingly replied 'Music for all' (Adams, 2002: 78).

same town by the 1980s, Fletcher argued, with local amateur and professional musical activity now flourishing. He put this down squarely to the ongoing influence of local authority music tuition:

Where energetic and enlightened schemes for school music were initiated, involving introductory activities in class and separate instrumental instruction for those able and willing to profit from it, the subsequent musical impact on the community generally was sensational (Fletcher, 1987: 140).

Nonetheless, as a decade, the 1980s was characterised by far greater levels of consolidation, reorganisation and introspection in the face of considerable financial challenges and a rapidly changing legal, political, educational and socio-cultural climate. As a result, 'Music Services found themselves in the position of not being able to retain the status for music that had been hard-won over a long period of time' (Adams *et al*, 2010: 24). Yet whilst much of the professional literature written at the time is couched in gloomy terms such as 'cuts', 'cutbacks', 'reductions', 'under threat', 'vulnerable', 'drastic economies', and 'ominous developments', this was also a period in which new forms of provision and delivery were pioneered. There is evidence that, over time, these led to higher levels of participation overall.

A number of factors may have combined to result in the apparent reduction in funding received by music services in the early 1980s. These include residual effects of the economic downturn in the 1970s (Cleave and Dust, 1989), falling school rolls (Alcock, 1981) and the impact of local authority 'rate capping' (Adams *et al*, 2010). Within central London, Adams (2002) notes that financial constraints began to 'bite' from 1980 and, by the following year, the General Secretary of the Incorporated Society of Musicians (ISM) felt it necessary to warn, 'drastic economies are being demanded' (Alcock, 1981: 12). One solution to these problems was to increase parental contributions. By February 1981, between 42% and 50% of music services were found to be imposing some kind of parental fees (Geddes, 1981a, 1981b; Izbicki, 1981). These were typically imposed for the privilege of one-to-one tuition, but it was by now extremely common for music services to also apply a wide range of 'discretionary' charges as a means of boosting income (Baker, 2005). The introduction of fees for both group and individual lessons in Hereford and Worcester in February 1980, however, led to the whole policy

of parental charging being tested in a high-profile court case (Cleave and Dust, 1989; Sharp, 1991; Baker, 2005). In a bid to tackle a considerable overspend, the local authority had sought to introduce fees for group and individual tuition of between £5 and £10, representing a 50% contribution to the cost of this provision. In response to a parental challenge, the High Court ruled in February 1981 that charging for individual instrumental lessons taking place during the normal school day contravened Section 61(1) of 1944 Education Act (Thomson, 1989a). Such tuition was deemed by the court to constitute part of the curriculum and could therefore not attract fees (Rogers, 1985).

The court's decision had a widespread effect, since it implied that all councils then charging for tuition taking place within school hours were in effect acting illegally and must cease (Cleave and Dust, 1989; Sharp, 1991). Alongside Hereford and Worcester, it was estimated that around forty other local authorities were directly affected by the ruling (Rogers, 1985). Others then considering introducing charging policies had to put these plans on hold (Cleave and Dust, 1989). All such authorities had to rapidly re-think the funding mechanisms for their music services in the face of reducing public subsidy. It is no wonder that, by the spring term of 1982, a survey of 1200 schools undertaken by the Assistant Masters and Mistresses Association (AMMA), found that:

the financial arrangements for instrumental tuition... showed wide variation, ranging from completely free lessons to sundry schemes for payment – sometimes overtly, sometimes complicated, almost clandestine, arrangements (AMMA, 1984: 40)

One option was to find a way to continue to charge, even if this did involve 'complicated' and 'clandestine' arrangements. Rogers (1985) cites evidence from parents' groups and professional music associations to suggest that around twenty authorities did just this. A common defence was to claim that the high court's ruling was ambiguous with regard to what could be considered 'extra-curricular' as opposed to 'curricular'. Avon, for instance, was alleged to be charging fees for both group and individual lessons on 'specialist instruments' since this was deemed by the local authority to be outside the curriculum. Enfield re-badged their programme as the 'extra-

curricular music scheme', despite lessons continuing to take place during the school day with pupils withdrawn from classes as before. On this basis, Enfield continued to charge parents between £10 and £21 for ten, individual or small group lessons lasting between ten and thirty minutes. Bromley's approach was found to be similar, but involved charges of up to £38 per term. Both authorities were, however, reported to be exempting those pupils sitting school examinations in music or in receipt of free school meals (FSM) (Rogers, 1985). In Hertfordshire (a county said by Rogers to be 'particularly anxious not to alert to the broader public to illegal fee-charging'), the policy was to provide an initial set of lessons for free and charge for all subsequent tuition. Even those sitting public exams were apparently charged (Rogers, 1985).

According to Rogers, such arrangements remained on the very edge of the law, relying upon a 'conspiracy of silence' amongst teachers, advisers and HMIs who feared that removing them would result in the collapse of the whole system. In some cases, this meant 'banking on parents' ignorance of the illegality of charging in school time' (Rogers, 1985: 14). One outer London adviser commented, 'All the LEAs that do charge lie low. It is for the children's sake. It is so delicate that even HMIs don't talk about it. If you write anything on this, then we could lose everything. There is no money for free tuition' (Rogers, 1985: 14). A further adviser called the situation 'a political hot potato' (ibid.). Such attitudes were not only the preserve of advisers and evidence provided by Cooper's (1985) survey of instrumental teachers suggested that the majority supported parental charging if it were to be confirmed as legally permissible. Within schools themselves, however, class teachers could be more equivocal and AMMA's report noted:

Concern was expressed regarding the threat to peripatetic music provision but, although there were ideas as to how this provision could be continued and improved, some suggestions, particularly about financial arrangements, were in direct conflict with others, with some teachers looking for a legal means which would allow payment by parents. Others declared that this would deny some children access to musical training (AMMA, 1984: 36).



In some authorities, free tuition was reinstated<sup>24</sup>. This was very often accompanied by requests for parents to make voluntary contributions to the value of the fees that these replaced (Rogers, 1985). Many others authorities sought voluntary contributions for related activities including holiday courses, workshops, tours, membership of youth ensembles, transport to rehearsals and examination fees (Cleave and Dust, 1989). Overall, however, replacing fees with voluntary contributions proved to be an unsatisfactory solution since, whilst parents of existing instrumental were typically prepared to pay (on the basis of having witnessed the perceived benefits of this provision), parents of newly recruited pupils were often not (Hallam, 2012). In some areas, up to an estimated 80% of parents were prepared to comply (Cleave and Dust, 1989). In other areas, however, donations quickly dwindled<sup>25</sup>. Whilst it was recognised that it would be illegal to withhold instrumental tuition where such contributions were not forthcoming (Rogers, 1985), these voluntary donations did raise 'questions about opportunities for children whose parents are unwilling or unable to pay and the social pressures which might be upon them in an area where the majority do comply' (Cleave and Dust, 1989: 52).

With income falling from all sources, many music services began to suffer financially (Hallam, 2012) and some reported that they could only continue by restructuring delivery significantly (Cleave and Dust, 1989). One option was to reduce the range of instruments taught and Rogers (1985) reported that piano, guitar and percussion had been particularly affected. In some areas, reductions were reportedly made in the teaching work force itself through 'accelerated wastage' (Ben-Tovim and Boyd, 1987: 27). Peripatetic staff without qualified teacher status (and therefore not on teachers' pay and conditions) were deemed to be particularly vulnerable to poor pay and cuts (Alcock, 1981). Rogers (1985) cited unsourced figures to argue that peripatetic and adviser posts were being cut 'with little or no resistance' (p. 40). Part-time teachers were more at risk, it was said, and authorities such as Lincolnshire had made many such posts redundant. Nonetheless, consensus

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<sup>24</sup>Rogers (1985) offers Hampshire as an example of an authority which ceased charging after the court case but subsequently claimed no reduction in provision.

<sup>25</sup>Hertfordshire is cited by Rogers (1985) as an example of one authority where voluntary contributions had failed to bring in enough money.

on how far the events of the early 1980s had impacted on the size of the national instrumental teaching workforce is difficult to come by. A small HMI survey conducted in 1983-84 gave the total workforce in England as 3244 full-time equivalents. By the time of Cleave and Dust's (1989)<sup>26</sup> study two years later, this FTE figure was almost identical at 3240, formed from around 4000 part-time and 2,500 full-time teachers. Whilst the national picture was admittedly complex, on the face of it, Cleave and Dust noted, not only did this suggest that the workforce had been relatively stable over this period, a number of music services had actually reported that their staffing numbers had increased. This was, in their view, striking since not only were public finances continuing to tighten, but school rolls were also continuing to fall at around 2% a year.

Some authorities contracted out their music services and supported them through 'grants in aid' (Adams *et al*, 2010). In the most extreme case, a number of authorities sought to replace services altogether with private tuition schemes (Rogers, 1985). These 'schemes' could be as basic as providing parents with lists of 'accredited' private teachers and allow these teachers to work on school premises. In Surrey, local parents had successfully stopped the local authority from replacing its own music service with a private tuition scheme. An HMI enquiry into the matter revealed that activities and tuition—particularly at an advanced level—were increasingly being transferred from schools to music centres and being timetabled outside school hours, thereby still facilitating legitimate charging (Cleave and Dust, 1989). Concentrating provision in this way could be one reason why the number of music centres apparently more than doubled in the first half of the 1980s. Sharp (1991) reported the existence of 408 music centres by 1985, up from the 200 reported in the Calouste Gulbenkian (1978) study. In terms of access and participation, however, Chapter 4 suggests that the net effect of this expansion may have been limited.

By 1985/86, there is evidence that the financial situation had stabilised somewhat and Cleave and Dust (1989) found that 50% of responding music services reported that their levels of funding had remained broadly constant

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<sup>26</sup>Cleave and Dust's (1989) survey covered both England and Wales and the total number of instrumental teachers in the latter was found to be 260.

from 1984/85 to 1985/86. Only 18% (mainly metropolitan districts) reported a fall in funding in real terms. In contrast 27% reported an increase in funding, this group was mainly formed from English county authorities.

The 1980s witnessed the first large-scale surveys on the state of local authority instrumental tuition, typically commissioned in response to professional concerns regarding the perceived 'plight of school music' at the time. These allow us to gain a more accurate view of the numbers accessing instrumental tuition and improve on the 'guesstimates' from the 1960s and 1970s. Table 3.2 summarises three important studies conducted over the first half of the 1980s. In the case of the HMI and NFER studies, upper and lower estimates were given in the place of a single figure and an average of 6.55% has been calculated from all the available data.

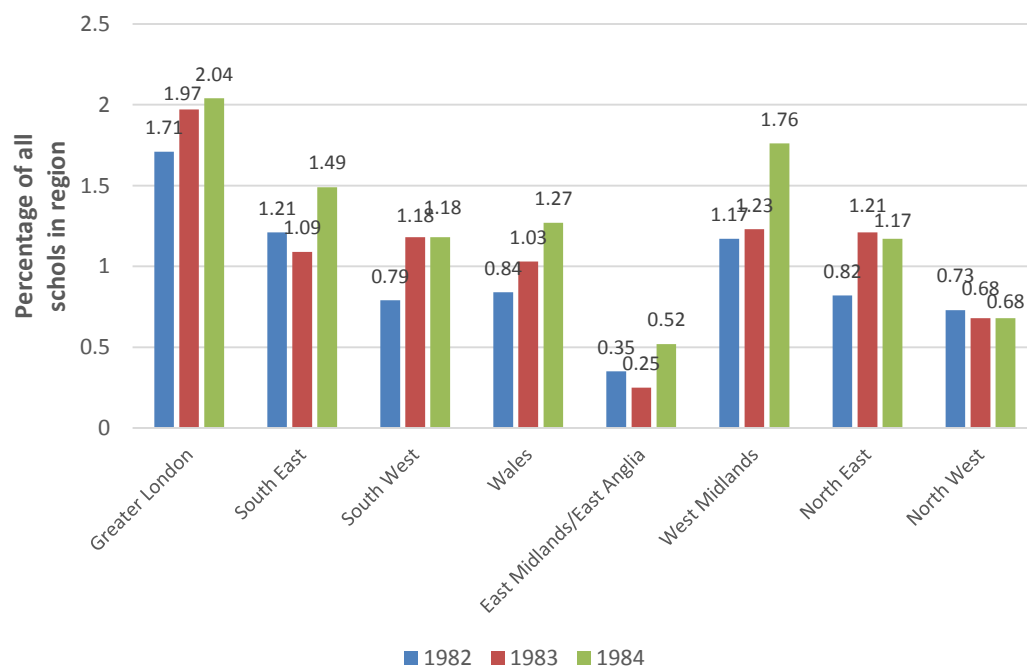
**Table 3.2** A comparison of estimates from several 1980s surveys regarding the number of school pupils in receipt of local authority music instrumental tuition. Two of the three studies feature 'lower' and 'upper' figures in their estimates.

Report (Reference)	Data collected	Pupils receiving tuition (as % of school population)	
		(Lower estimate)	(Upper estimate)
AMMA Report (1984)	Spring term, 1982	9.77% <sup>27</sup>	
HMI Survey (cited by Cleave and Dust, 1989)	1984	4%	8%
NFER Report (Cleave and Dust, 1989)	1985/86	5%	6%
<b>Overall average estimate of pupils in receipt of tuition 1982-86 (as % of school population)</b>		<b>6.55%</b>	

It should be noted that the overall figures presented in table 3.2 may well mask considerable regional variation. Cleave and Dust (1989), for instance, discovered that levels of participation in tuition schemes ranged between 3 and 8% of school age population in different local authorities. Earlier in the decade, the HMI survey had revealed that the financial climate had impacted on services in different areas in different ways. Some in metropolitan authorities, mainly in the north, had *increased* their provision in terms of FTE teachers, whilst others in the south had made substantial reductions in

<sup>27</sup>The AMMA (1984) report only provided the average number of pupils in receipt of instrumental tuition at a school level. This figure has been calculated with reference to average school size data for 1982 given by Bolton (2012).

staffing (cited in Cleave and Dust, 1989). Data given by Peggie (1985) on the number of entries to the NFMY events in 1983, 1984 and 1985 offers additional evidence that young people's engagement with music-making differed by region (figure 3.2). Whilst these figures will have also included ensembles entered by private schools and community groups, the differences overall are pronounced. They suggest that the staffing reductions identified by HMI were not reflected in festival entries in the south as a whole, though the figures for East Anglia (with the East Midlands) *are* the lowest by some margin. A further finding from Peggie's study was that, nationally, the total number of festival entries actually *grew* over this three-year period (from 0.95% of all schools in 1982 to 1.26% in 1984). Thus, whilst it is important to note that the downward trend in participation estimates given in Table 3.2 coincided with the aftermath of the 1981 court case, this decline is not necessarily borne out by all the available data from the period.



**Figure 3.2** Regional variation in the number of entries to the NFMY 1982-84, expressed as a percentage of the total number of schools in each region (data from Peggie, 1985).

A further factor to be considered is that the figures in table 3.2 and figure 3.2 will not include young people who engaged with instrumental tuition only to cease tuition after a short time (Hallam, 2012). Ben-Tovim and Boyd (1987) argued that the 'dropout' rate for instrumental tuition in the mid-1980s

remained very high, with as many as nine out of ten starters ceasing lessons within the first year, in extreme cases.

With regard to provision at the school level, Cleave and Dust (1989) calculated that around 65% of schools were being reached by the average, participating local authority, with higher figures for metropolitan areas and London authorities. The most widespread pattern (observed by the researchers in over three quarters of authorities) was for provision to be provided to over 90% of secondary schools but a smaller number of primary schools. Only 12% of music services claimed to be able to reach over 90% of both primary and secondary schools. The earlier AMMA survey had identified a similar tendency on the part of local authorities to target provision in secondary schools at the expense of primary schools. Of 871 secondary schools surveyed, almost 94% were able to offer some kind of local authority instrumental tuition and almost 75% were served by four or more peripatetic teachers. An average of 60 pupils received lessons in each participating school. In contrast, amongst the 210 primary/infant schools surveyed, 28% reported receiving no support from peripatetic teachers at all, whilst a further 14% only received a visit from one such teacher. Although the remaining 42% did receive support from two or more peripatetic staff, the AMMA working party nonetheless concluded: 'peripatetic teachers seem in rather short supply in primary schools and there are reports that the greatest cuts are in this area' (AMMA, 1984: 30). They also noted a reluctance on behalf of local authorities to provide tuition to those under the ages of eight or nine. Where tuition was offered, the working party found that an average of 23 pupils were able to benefit in each participating school.

The relatively low numbers of pupils able to benefit from tuition in the primary phase was also a cause for concern for Peggie (1981), who noted that provision was normally restricted to 'a few apparently talented children' and rarely allowed for continuity across the primary/secondary transition (1981: 14)<sup>28</sup>. For Fletcher (1987), providing instrumental teaching in primary school was of central importance if children were to build the necessary skills,

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<sup>28</sup>One solution to the problem of primary/secondary continuity offered by Peggie (1981) was to group primary schools together on the basis of the secondary schools that they fed and ensure that these were allocated to a common team of peripatetic teachers.

motivation and commitment to music into secondary school. AMMA found the situation to be better within middle schools where 93% were able to offer pupils access to peripatetic teachers. Nonetheless, the average number of pupils gaining access (39) was also deemed by AMMA to be an 'area where there could be improvement – finance permitting' (1984: 35). Subsequently, an HMI survey of music in 285 primary schools, undertaken between 1982 and 89, found that overall, only approximately one-third of primary schools had some kind of support from peripatetic instrumental teachers. This included individual instrumental tuition and class-based activities (cited in Sharp, 1991). This coincided with a trend, identified by Fletcher (1987), to remove 'floating' music specialists from larger primary schools, thus putting responsibility for music back on generalist class teachers.

For some, economic uncertainty, uneasiness over charging parents and the growing debate regarding access and equity in instrumental tuition pointed to the need to re-evaluate the whole system:

On the one hand, we are all anxious to promote music as an activity for all, but on the other, we (unconsciously) sanction an "exclusive" image by asking for privileged facilities. If instrumental lessons are treated as a privilege by all concerned, it is hardly surprising that now parents are being asked to pay extra for the service.... Recent events, in and out of the courts, have exposed the precarious basis on which peripatetic instrumental tuition exists; we have built our castles on the sand – can we really now complain if an encroaching economic tide dangerously threatens the whole edifice. The implications of this little metaphor are profound: to argue for the substantial retention of the system, unchanged, is to argue unconvincingly and to ignore the necessity to start rebuilding on firmer foundations. There is a strong case for change, consolidation and expansion; there is little or no case for blanket conservation (Peggie, 1981: 14).

Peggie was not alone in asking fundamental questions regarding local authority instrumental tuition at this time. Taking his lead from Farmer, Barnes (1982) questioned the whole notion of peripatetic tuition:

Whilst LEA provision for music tuition is based on the teaching of instruments of the orchestra only an elite and privileged group will be selected for tuition. But should the aims of the programme of peripatetic tuition, which usually includes the provision of musicians for the county youth orchestra, have priority in the budget available for music education? (1982: 248).

Instead, like Farmer and Vulliamy, Barnes (*ibid.*) asked whether it would not be better to redeploy peripatetic staff as whole-class teachers of recorders and percussion so that all pupils could benefit from their expertise. Pupils demonstrating the greatest motivation in such activities would then go forward for specialist tuition on orchestral instruments. The response from Cooper was to argue that 'instrumental music, like other art forms, would gain very little if anything by stopping tuition and attempting to spread the remaining resources amongst everyone' (1985: 23). Fletcher (1987) also sought to counter these, noting that it was vital to recognise and acknowledge the essential differences in technique, motivation and philosophy between instrumental and class teaching if a realistic distribution of resources is to be achieved: 'Any attempt to deny it—to rationalise away the need for individual instruction—creates a far more serious dichotomy: one between school music and the living world of music outside' (Fletcher, 1987: 124). In any case, Fletcher (1987) noted, the appeal of recorders and percussion rapidly waned during adolescence.

As a profession, the peripatetic teachers of the 1980s were felt to lack a corporate identity (Thomson, 1989c) and could be perceived as a minority group offering a relatively unimportant subject (Cooper, 1985). As a result, they were 'open to attack from all quarters, including local education authorities, financial cuts, and surprisingly enough, some class music teachers who in the past have seemed almost jealous of the success of the instrumental side of music teaching' (Cooper, 1985: 19). Both Evans (1985) and Thomson (1989c) make the point that whilst classroom music teaching was changing in the 1980s, thanks to wider developments in educational thinking and influence of people like Paynter, these developments often didn't reach instrumental teachers, possibly because of professional isolation, or because they pursued joint performing and teaching careers, or because their performance-based training offered limited coverage of wider teaching

pedagogies. As a result, they ran the risk of remaining in the older 'impartor of knowledge' paradigm, not the newer 'teacher as facilitator' paradigm emerging at the time. Ben-Tovim and Boyd (1987) argue that there remained resistance to change amongst both instrumental and class music teachers. Reporting on their experience of discussing the issue in seminars, they note: 'many teachers sincerely believe that 'our music', i.e. the classical repertoire, playing in school and county youth orchestras, creative music-making etc., is an elite area shared by rather special adults and a minority of gifted children. A typical reaction is: 'If we're talking off the record, we all know that most children just haven't got it in them...' (Ben-Tovim, 1987: 27).

However, Ben-Tovim and Boyd's view appears at odds with most other contemporary evidence. Thomson (1989c), for instance, cites Palmer (1983)'s study that revealed that participating music teachers felt that the main purpose of instrumental teaching was social and to support hobbies in later life. Similarly, when asked whether the main purpose of instrumental teaching was to develop the skills of a talented few or introduce as many children to instrument playing, the vast majority of Cooper's (1985) participants opted for the latter. By 1985, Mills could assert that, 'in the case of class music and extra-curricular activities with open membership, the 'best' environment is probably the one that most of us are striving to achieve for the general good of all our pupils anyway; with all pupils enjoying school music and motivated to take up the many and varied opportunities we offer them to develop their musical awareness, experience and enjoyment' (Mills, 1985: 46). Similarly, Thompson (1985) argued 'whatever extra-curricular activities flourish in school, commitment to educating everyone must be unceasing' (1985: 20).

### **The impact of the 1988 Education Reform Act**

The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) set in motion a train of national, local and school level policy reforms that led to a further extended period of rationalisation and reorganisation within local authority music services. Even before it received royal assent, the measures contained within the Act gave rise to fundamental and awkward educational and philosophical questions



regarding services' core roles and models of provision that had been slowly established since the 1940s (Priest, 1988). A harsh spotlight was directed on this area, with the media and music industry, local and national politicians, and professional musicians' and educators' organisations all taking a closer interest. Reflecting on the findings of their survey of music services, conducted as ERA was being drafted, Cleave and Dust (1989) urged each music service to 'take stock of its provision and consider the principles and purposes underlying its service' (1989: 17).

Opinions differ as to the extent to which the Government intended its reform programme to impact directly upon instrumental tuition. A common view, expressed at the time and since (e.g. Ward, 1993; Kingston, 2006), was that as a core local authority function, music services were simply 'caught up' in an agenda which sought to divest authorities of many of their traditional powers. The organisational upheaval that they experienced was thus an unintended consequence of the legislation. A parallel view, supported by a close reading of the August 1992 White Paper for Education<sup>29</sup>, was that the government desired all such core support functions to be privatised, freed from local authority control and able to respond to the demands of the 'market' (e.g. Durston, 1993). Yet whatever the motivations, once in place, ERA charged music advisers, local government administrators and headteachers with responsibility for facilitating and funding instrumental tuition in an unfamiliar educational climate characterised by the 'new era values' of consumer choice and full economy costing (Bonnett, 1996; Finney 2011). As Pitts (2000) notes, the central thrust of ERA's reform agenda outlived the Conservative government that introduced it and has gone on to underpin all further developments in educational policy since.

Sharp (1995) notes that three elements of ERA and related, subsequent Acts of Parliament had particular practical impacts on music services and, consequently, on the young people who learned with them. These can be summarised as follows:

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<sup>29</sup>Sections 6.7 and 6.8 of the White Paper explicitly suggested that music services should be privatised and separated from Local Authority Control.

- the inclusion of music as one of the ten National Curriculum foundation subjects;
- the permission granted to local authorities and schools to charge for non-statutory services; and
- the introduction of 'local management for schools' and 'grant maintained' status.

### *The introduction of the National Curriculum*

Some regarded the securing of music's place within the National Curriculum, along with the introduction of the GCSE, as further—possibly final—opportunities to integrate class and instrumental music teaching (Priest, 1988). It would soon be necessary, noted Thomson, 'for the instrumental teacher to be conversant with what is going on in the classroom... If the nettle is not grasped on this occasion is there likely to be any further opportunity?' (Thomson, 1989d: 41). Research by Sharp (1991) suggested that the majority of music services themselves were in favour of closer links with school-based colleagues, although many felt there were significant barriers to overcome to enable this. Sharp also found that in preparation for their new roles in this area, some authorities had re-focused their advisers' roles to embrace curriculum support to a far great degree. Others aspired to offer schools INSET opportunities, workshops, concerts and special projects.

An initial, positive sign was the National Curriculum Music Working Group's interim recommendation that higher levels of attainment within musical performance work should be supported by specialist instrumental teaching (Pitts, 2000). Unfortunately, over time, it became apparent that the specific role of instrumental tuition within the proposed statutory curriculum—together with matters relating to funding, selection and access—would remain largely undefined. By the publication of the Working Group's final report, this recommendation had become a simple reminder of the importance of linking work done in the classroom with that undertaken individually and in small groups by peripatetic colleagues:

Instrumental teachers should be fully aware of the point their pupils have reached in following the general music curriculum, of the detailed scheme of work involved, and of the tasks and materials used in the classroom. The instrumental music lessons should be regarded as an alternative form of delivery, not as an adjunct or optional extra (DES, 1991: 58, quoted in Pitts, 2000: 160).

In order to achieve this, schools were advised by the report to have a clear policy statement on instrumental teaching that made the relationship between instrumental tuition and class music clear (Sharp, 1991). It also stated that 'pupils will need to play instruments as well as sing', noting that:

By Key Stage 2, pupils should be exercising their skills on a wider range of instruments requiring more sophisticated technical skills. It will be important for pupils to have experiences which lay secure technical foundations in playing an instrument. The need for specialist instrumental tuition becomes apparent at this stage and continues for those pupils with the interest and commitment to continue with instrumental study – throughout their schooling (quoted in Sharp, 1991: 3-4).

Beyond this, the report played down practical music-making (Adams *et al*, 2010) and made clear that, whilst 'encouraged by implication', the provision of instrumental tuition would remain a non-statutory obligation for schools and local authorities (Sharp, 1995: 4). Pitts views this shift in emphasis as being primarily economically motivated, 'illustrating the hopelessness of arguing without financial backing' (Pitts, 2000: 160). The ultimate outcome was that, at least up to the end of Key Stage (KS) 3, there would be no statutory funding for instrumental lessons to support the curriculum and many lamented that a historic opportunity to align instrumental and class music teaching more closely was missed (Hill, 1992).

### *Charging for non-statutory services*

In response to ongoing legal ambiguity that had remained after the 1981 court case, Section 106 of ERA specifically confirmed that fees could be charged for individual tuition in playing any musical instrument that took place during school hours (Sharp, 1991). In all other cases, including small group instrumental tuition, the Act stipulated that no charges could be made within the school day. Further clarification followed in the form of DES Circular 2/89 in January 1989 (Thomson, 1989d; Sharp, 1991):

Charging is not permitted for class music instruction or group musical activities within school hours. Music tuition, whether group or individual, must also be free if it forms part of the syllabus for a prescribed public examination or is required by the National Curriculum, whether it is provided within or outside school hours. Where the law requires that provision be free, parents cannot be required to purchase, or to meet hire costs for musical instruments; to meet insurance costs relating to hire; or to provide music. They may be invited to provide instruments and music on a voluntary basis, so as to reduce pressure on the school budget, but only on the understanding that no child will be penalised because his or her parent does not contribute (DES Circular 2/89: para. 38).

This confirmed that charges could not be made for tuition which supported pupils through GCSE and A Level Music. The Circular also, rather oddly, confirmed that individual singing lessons were not covered by the ERA since the voice did not count as an ‘instrument’ in this context<sup>30</sup>, something that would continue to cause difficulties in the field of singing tuition for many years to come. It also offered further confirmation that local authorities remained under no legal obligation to offer instrumental tuition (Sharp, 1991).

In Spring 1990, the DES commissioned NFER to assess the early impact of the charging legislation contained within ERA (Sharp, 1991)<sup>31</sup>. The findings were mixed. On the one hand, the research suggested that no overall change in the level of provision of instrumental lessons had occurred following the introduction of charging. In fact, the research identified a statistically significant increase in the numbers of secondary schools providing individual tuition between the preceding and current year. One interpretation for this increase offered by Sharp (1991) was that some schools and local authorities had re-organised small-group lessons as individual lessons, thus enabling them to take advantage of ERA to charge legitimately. On the other hand, the researchers found that the total amount of contributions from parents towards tuition in both primary and secondary schools had fallen following the introduction of the new legislation. It seemed that fewer parents were willing or able to contribute to the cost of lessons.

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<sup>30</sup>Sharp (1991) identified evidence to suggest that this distinction put vocal tuition at a disadvantage in some authorities since some worked on the basis that individual vocal tuition could not be charged within school hours, unlike individual instrumental tuition (Sharp, 1991).

<sup>31</sup>A low response rate from headteachers partially confounded the findings (Sharp, 1991).

Sharp's own, more extensive research the following summer found that around 60% of respondents reported that provision remained unaffected by introduction of charging legislation. A common reason given was that, despite changes to national legislation, local authority policy still did not allow for charging. A smaller number of authorities reported that the legislation had simply allowed them to restart the same charging arrangements that were in place before the outcome of the 1981 judgement, i.e. it simply restored the previous position. Nonetheless, the research revealed a growing general trend towards the securing of more 'plural' sources of funding for music services, often involving increased contributions from schools and parents. As a result, one third of music services had introduced or reintroduced these charges. A further seven authorities were actively exploring charging at the time of the survey. In line with legislation, charges were mainly being levied for individual tuition and out-of-school-hours activities at music centres. Charges tended to be more common in authorities which had restructured their music service as a trust or agency. In one authority, Sharp found that a 'two-tier' service operated. Here, 62 FTE staff provided the 'standard' service which remained free to schools. A further 40 FTE staff were detailed to provide additional charged-for tuition to schools and pupils who requested it.

In at least twenty authorities, Sharp (1991) found, charges were being passed on to parents. In six of these, this decision had been made by schools themselves. One authority reported that schools were being charged £13.50 per term for 15-20 minute lessons. Schools in this authority were then free to decide whether this cost was passed on to parents or subsidised by the school. Other examples of charging policies were in evidence, including providing an initial period of tuition for free and then commencing charges later, or not charging primary school pupils but charging secondary school pupils. Some authorities were requesting charges for transport to and from out of school ensemble activities. Others were requesting voluntary contributions to cover maintenance and instrument loan costs.

Subsequently, the United Kingdom Council for Music Education and Training (UKMET) sought the experiences of 58 local authorities across the country in November 1992 (cited in Sharp, 1995). This suggested a 400% increase in

the number of pupils being charged for lessons over the preceding five years (i.e. back to the period just before ERA was introduced).

### *The introduction of 'Local Management for Schools'*

'Local Management of Schools' (LMS) required local authorities to prepare plans to transfer centrally-held funds directly to schools (Sharp, 1995). In turn, schools were given direct responsibility for an unprecedented level of financial management on the basis of either *delegated* or *devolved* funding. In the case of the former, schools were free to use the funding for any aspect of their operation, whereas, in the case of the latter, their spending was restricted to certain areas. Where funds had been delegated, headteachers could decide to reallocated resources formally reserved for the work of a central music service to non-music-related areas (NMC, 2002). Where funds had been devolved, schools could choose whether to use funding to 'buy back' the services of the existing local authority music service or seek alternative provision from third-party providers. In either case, where tuition was given on individual basis or took place outside the school day, headteachers were able to decide for themselves whether to pass these costs on to parents directly, subsidise them or absorb them fully (Baker, 2005).

Initially, authorities were empowered to hold back certain budgets to support centrally-provided services, including instrumental tuition (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994; Sharp, 1991; Sharp, 1995). A survey by the ISM in April 1989 suggested that around 80% of the 65 authorities questioned were proposing to exercise this right with regard to music service budgets (Sharp, 1991). Despite increasing pressures from headteachers and governing bodies to pass on these remaining funds, Sharp's (1991) study showed that 83% of authorities surveyed had retained these budgets by the summer of 1991. (One local authority had gone to the length of transferring these funds out of the education budget and into the youth services budget to prevent devolution.) On the other hand, 13% authorities reported partial devolution and a further 4% reported wholesale devolution.

Warnings that music services would face particular problems with the implementation of LMS surfaced soon after ERA was passed (e.g. Thomson, 1989d). Many commentators expressed fears that music services would be caught in a 'pincer movement', with headteachers' financial planning on one side and continuing community charge capping<sup>32</sup> on the other (e.g. Mold, 1992; Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994). A prominent concern was that, with centralised budgets for music under threat, provision would fragment and it would no longer be cost-effective for local authorities to provide services 'above' the school level. Services such as youth ensembles, music libraries, instrument loan stocks were all predicted to suffer by authorities who responded to Sharp's (1991) survey. Authorities also expressed concerns regarding increasingly uneven spreads of provision (in terms of both geographical and instrumental coverage) as some schools chose to buy back tuition and others did not. Rural and deprived areas were predicted to suffer in particular if not enough neighbouring schools chose to purchase the service and it was no longer cost effective to deploy staff. In all areas, timetabling peripatetic schedules was expected to be more complex, not only due to the greater distances and fewer schools to be accommodated, but also to the demands of individual headteachers who were now in the role of 'customer'.

Some respondents in Sharp's (1991) survey perceived that an increased emphasis on popular styles would see a corresponding reduction in the value placed on the Western classical tradition. In the worst case scenarios identified by these respondents, LMS was deemed likely not only to lead to a loss of high quality staff as they sought employment stability elsewhere but, ultimately, to service closure. Reflecting on these concerns, Plummeridge noted that whilst the reduction in local government 'bureaucracy' might be welcomed by some, it was the support services that this bureaucracy facilitated which was so vital for music education: 'they are often taken for granted, but without them there can be little doubt that the range of musical activities and opportunities would be greatly reduced' (1991: 137).

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<sup>32</sup>The Musicians' Union published list of 29 local authorities where music services were being apparently being affected by community charge capping in March 1991 (Sharp, 1991).

Nonetheless, Sharp (1991) offers evidence that the coming of LMS was not universally regarded as a negative development for music services. Of 43 authorities who expressed an opinion on the matter, 14% were broadly positive. Aspirations for LMS included a hope that it would offer an opportunity to expand or restructure to better service local needs, leading to a more equitable division of tuition. Others foresaw an increased demand for tuition from schools, resulting in a more targeted approach to meeting school and pupil needs. Some respondents said that they viewed LMS as an aid to promote popular music instruments and styles. In the retrospective view of Hallam (1998), further benefits of LMS were that, as services got to grips with the needs of schools who were now their 'customers', staff became increasingly confident to teach in groups. As outlined in subsequent chapters, over time this new-found confidence would lead to changes in the ethos of instrumental teaching.

### *Restructuring in the face of change*

Even though many local authorities initially sought to retain funding for instrumental tuition, an impending Government requirement to devolve/delegate 90% of education funding by 1995/96 forced many to make hard decisions about the future of central services (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994). Such decisions had to be considered against a backdrop of further cuts in public spending. For instance, over one third of authorities responding to Sharp (1991) reported that they had reduced funding for their music services between 1989/90 and 1990/91 and almost 40% reported forecast further cuts between 1990/91 and 1991/92. Such cuts were typically manifested as a reduction in staffing, often in the number of specialist music advisers. Rogers (1995), for instance, suggested that by 1995, one third of local authorities no longer had such posts. Some local authorities undertook even more drastic 'pre-emptive action' as they prepared both for LMS and for possible future capping (e.g. Mold, 1992; Holman-Fox, 1993). Two local authority music services closed in 1990/91, followed by a further two in 1991/92 (Sharp, 1991). The latter services both cited community charge capping as the main cause.



A case study of one anonymous Midlands county authority which closed its music service in August 1992 is offered by Mold (1992). As a result of community charge capping, this authority needed to find savings of 5% (£16million). Initially, cuts were made in non-frontline service delivery areas, including support, training and advisory services. When these were exhausted, the authority looked at frontline delivery areas that impacted on the least number of residents; the music service was amongst these. As a result, the contracts for all thirty-five peripatetic teachers were terminated in a bid to save £600,000 per year (with £350,000 saved between September 1991 and March 1992 alone). The authority withdrew its Junior Musician Exhibition Scheme and also terminated its support for all five county music centres and further satellite centres, which had formerly offered free tuition on Friday evenings and Saturday mornings. In the event, however, parents agreed to keep these facilities afloat through private fundraising efforts.

In a bid to reduce the need for redundancies and to avoid the ultimate threat of closure, one option open to local authorities was to change the status of their music service from a centrally-managed operation to one acting at 'arm's length'. Intended to offer a degree of isolation from further rounds of spending cuts and to provide maximum opportunity to recoup costs through the charging of fees, this was typically done by reconstituting their provision as a semi-autonomous agency, charitable trust or foundation, business unit, limited company or autonomous music centre (Sharp, 1991; Holman-Fox, 1993; Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994; Spencer, 1995). By 1991, the NFER research identified only four authorities which had made such arrangements. Seven were in the process of converting and a further ten were actively considering their options in this area (Sharp, 1991).

Nonetheless, research by UKCMET in November 1992 found that this was being widely considered and only a third of authorities questioned expected to retain a centrally-funded service in the coming financial year, a figure down from 90% five years before (Jarvis, 1993). Some local authorities, but not all, provided grants of up to £3million to support the establishment of these new 'arm's length' organisations. The 1991 NFER research revealed concerns that these alternative models of provision would not be viable in economically-deprived areas of the country (Sharp, 1991) and it was the view

of Holman-Fox (1993) parental contributions were likely to be an inherent feature of these new 'arms' length' organisations.

The solution adopted in Barnet offers an example of this approach (Holman-Fox, 1993). Here, a business unit was established and schools entered into contracts for agreed numbers of hours of tuition per instrument. The business unit would then timetable tuition and invoice schools, as opposed to parents. Adopting such a model involved overcoming a range of practical challenges relating to access and participation, according to Holman-Fox (1993). For instance, group tuition was found to be more popular due to schools being able to pass on reduced costs to parents. However, it was difficult to administrate since it required learners to be at roughly the same standard. The alternative was for a teacher to be compelled to see individual 'odd' students on an unfunded basis. Teachers' different levels of experience and rates of pay offered a further challenge. In cases where schools passed fees on to parents at cost, questions could be forthcoming as to why pupils learning with one teacher had to pay more than pupils learning with another. Over time, the general trend predicted by Holman-Fox (1993) would be for less experienced and qualified teachers to replace more experienced colleagues on cost grounds. Without the financial backing of the local authority, youth ensembles and other 'specialist' provision such as touring staff ensembles were also put in doubt. Nor was it 'worth' teachers' time to travel to a school for a handful of pupils. One solution was to centralise lessons, but it was already known that in such an arrangement not all pupils would enjoy equal access (see Chapter 4). Finally, there were concerns that fee waivers and remissions might be reduced. Traditionally, these had not only been offered for those on low incomes but also where there were more children from the same family receiving lessons. If charitable trusts were prepared to assist, typically such support was means tested, with the effect that those just above the 'threshold' for support would be hit hard.

The 1991 NFER study into music services (Sharp, 1991) provides an extensive national snapshot of provision in the summer term of 1991. As noted above, by this point some authorities had introduced, or re-introduced, parental charging on the basis of ERA. Whilst some authorities were clearly

gearing up for change, LMS had yet to impact on service delivery to any significant degree. Only a small minority of services had been 'externalised' by this time. The NFER estimated that 467,500 young people received tuition in 1990-91, representing 6-7% of school population of England and Wales (table 3.3). The total number of schools receiving tuition was estimated to be 17,000 (64%), embracing 64% of primary schools, 97% of secondary schools and 16% of special schools (1% of the special school population was estimated to be in receipt of tuition). Overall, the figures suggested a slight increase in primary and special numbers from the previous year; there was a corresponding decrease in the number of secondary pupils.

**Table 3.3** A comparison of estimates from several 1990s surveys regarding the number of school pupils in receipt of local authority music instrumental tuition. Two of the four studies feature 'lower' and 'upper' figures in their estimates.

Report (Reference)	Data collected	Pupils receiving tuition (as % of school population)	
		(Lower estimate)	(Upper estimate)
NFER (Sharp, 1991)	Summer term, 1991	6%	7%
Coopers and Lybrand/MORI (1994)	July/early August 1993	8.3%	
PRS (1999)	Autumn term, 1998	12.3%	
DfEE RR229 (Hallam and Prince, 2000)	Autumn term, 1999	4%	10%
<b>Overall average estimate of pupils in receipt of tuition 1991-99 (as % of school population)</b>		<b>7.93%</b>	

Sharp (1991) found that parents were making contributions to the cost of lessons in 24% of authorities and were responsible for the entire funding of 2% of services. Parents also made contributions towards the work of ensembles and music centres in 38% of authorities. Findings regarding the impact of charging on pupil numbers were inconclusive. For instance, one authority reported that the introduction of charges had resulted in increased provision and another said that it had allowed them to counteract a large deficit and so protect existing provision. On the other hand, two authorities reported that charging was perceived to have led to a reduction in pupil numbers. In areas where fees were introduced at the primary-secondary transition, however, Sharp did identify significant pupil drop out, with the effect that fewer pupils were gaining higher level examination grades and becoming available to play at county orchestra level. 18% of authorities questioned reported that the introduction of charging had resulted in an

uneven impact across service areas and pupil client groups. These authorities often reported a view that more children were now learning from areas regarded as more affluent.

Concerns were expressed more generally to Sharp (1991) regarding the general effect of charging on those from socially disadvantaged backgrounds. Whilst some authorities offered fee remission schemes, these were regarded as themselves vulnerable to cuts and constraints. One adviser reported:

We are technically trying to maintain a system which supports free tuition for those on income support. This relies on enough fees being generated. At the moment, the picture looks unbalanced to say the least (quoted in Sharp, 1991: 101).

As a result, many music service staff expressed concern that it would be the poorest pupils who stood to lose from the ongoing introduction of charging at both a school and pupil level:

The effect has been essentially socio-economic and rural/urban: 85 per cent of tuition takes place in the South (of the Authority), and only 15 per cent in the North, where there are socio-economic problems. Involvement in instrumental tuition becomes dependent on the parents' ability to pay (Anonymous local authority music adviser, 1991, quoted in Sharp, 1991: 100).

Sharp's findings suggested that nascent trends, identified by Cleave and Dust (1989) in 1985/86, towards increased provision in non-Western and popular music styles, and in SEND support had continued. By 1991, 21% of authorities had staff with specific responsibility for SEND provision (up from 9% five years earlier). Whilst the numbers of staff with responsibility for non-Western provision had remained largely stable from 1985/86, scope for tuition in this area had increased significantly, particularly in London and other urban and metropolitan music services. Steel band provision was being offered by 27% of authorities (representing a 50% increase), tabla by 18% of authorities (44% increase), harmonium by 17% of authorities (112% increase) and sitar in 15% of authorities (88% increase). Further individual authorities offered African drumming and singing, Russian and Indian dance, and Russian and Folk instruments. Tuition in popular music styles was also identified by Sharp as having undergone considerable growth, particularly in

more urban areas. Tuition on the electric guitar and bass guitar was found to be offered by 45% of authorities, a 36% increase on 1985/06. Sharp also identified a shift from piano tuition towards keyboards and synthesizers, offered in 33% of authorities. Such areas of provision were found not to be immune from funding changes, however, and one authority reported the loss of a post due to voluntary redundancy. Nonetheless, another sought to appoint a SEND specialist after an LMS-motivated review of provision had revealed scope for expansion in this area.

With regard to supporting tuition through the provision of instruments, 54% of local authorities participating in Sharp's (1991) survey reported that they provided instruments free of charge to pupils for as long as these were needed. In contrast, just 13% of authorities hired instruments to pupils. In a further 29% of authorities questioned, a free, time-limited loan was available. These arrangements represented a distinct difference from the 1985/86 NFER study (Cleave and Dust, 1989) which found that 38% of authorities offered this service free of charge. In Sharp's view, this increase could be explained by the clarification of fee arrangements within ERA. Specifically, it was no longer necessary for authorities to 'claw back' costs towards tuition through contributions to instrumental loan schemes. Notwithstanding the increase, Sharp noted that demand for free instruments often outstripped supply. Parents were also asked to fund instrumental maintenance and repair in just under one third of authorities.

Overall, there is evidence that the increased access to free instruments may not have lasted long. Research by UKCMET in November 1992 identified a subsequent 17% decrease in the number of pupils receiving free access to instruments (cited in Holman-Fox, 1993). Moreover, concerns were also raised regarding support for expensive, 'minority' instruments in authorities where services had been externalised and no centralised purchasing budget remained<sup>33</sup> (Holman-Fox, 1993). In such cases, there were fears that responsibility for purchasing such instruments would increasingly fall to parents:

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<sup>33</sup>A suggestion from Holman-Fox (1993) —reiterated by Hallam (1998) —was to create a special fund to support the purchase and tuition of these rarer instruments. This idea can be considered as a precursor to Youth Music's Endangered Species scheme in the 2000s (e.g. Chapters 4 and 8).

There are not too many families that can't afford £40 or £50 for a violin, but it's a different story when parents are asked to buy cellos at £400, double basses at £600 and French horns at £1,200 (Barry Greensmith, Head of Instrumental Services, Barnsley, quoted in Holman-Fox, 1993: 100).

*Concerns raised amongst politicians and those in the music world*

The 1991 NFER research (Sharp, 1991) had revealed a very mixed picture. Whilst there was evidence of considerable cuts and some service closures, there was also optimism that LMS might facilitate more flexible, responsive provision. In addition, 17 authorities reported increases in funding and staffing<sup>34</sup>. In spite of all the financial challenges, there was also evidence of a slight increase in total pupil participation, up from 5-6% in 1985/86 (Cleave and Dust, 1989) to 6-7% in 1991 even though, overall, the total FTE staff numbers remained very similar in both studies. Moreover, Sharp identified increased diversity in non-Western and popular music provision and improved opportunities for those in special schools.

Unfortunately, the subtleties of this mixed picture were liable to be missed amid the increasingly well-publicised decisions of a relatively small number of local authorities to close down, significantly reduce or externalise instrumental tuition (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994). Prominent newspaper reports with headlines such as 'Music at risk of playing second fiddle' (the Independent) and 'Cuts policies meet chorus of disapproval' (TES) (both cited by Sharp, 1991 – see also Warnock, 1993; Sommerich, 1993; Proctor, 1994) drew a highly emotive response from many high profile professional musicians and music educators, many of whom had benefited from local authority music service tuition themselves in the 'halcyon days' of the 1960s and 1970s. For some in this lobby, the perceived 'plight' of local authority music services only served to confirm the threat to music and the arts felt to be represented by ERA. The Act had appeared to many in the professional worlds of music and the arts to upset a well-established, functioning model of instrumental tuition that had provided many with their first taste of professional-level performing. After all, the Musicians' Union, led by luminaries such as Simon Rattle and Michael Tippett, had not long

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<sup>34</sup>These were found by Sharp to be more likely to be county services, as opposed to those in metropolitan boroughs.

contributed to the successful campaign to secure the future of the Centre for Young Musicians and the London Schools Symphony Orchestra following the ILEA's abolition (Adams, 2002). The Act had also motivated the establishment or strengthening of a range of professional educational bodies, including the National Association for Education in the Arts, UKMET and the Association for the Advancement of Teacher Education in Music (Plummeridge, 1991). The intention of such organisations was to enable practitioners to engage in more organised discourse, exert renewed political influence, and to focus public attention on the importance of arts education (Plummeridge, 1991). To this same end, a pressure group, 'Save Instrumental Teaching!' (SIT!), was also now formed and organised a national conference in January 1991. SIT! called for 'immediate steps' to be taken by the Government to protect music service funding (Sharp, 1991).

The growing concerns regarding the future of music services were raised in February 1991 during a House of Lords debate on the impact of community charge capping and LMS. In response, Baroness Blatch argued:

On the evidence we have so far, I do not believe that fear to be justified... It is too soon to reach firm conclusions, since the picture we have at this stage is a confused one... My expectation is that after a period of uncertainty while new arrangements are worked out, we shall see a better organised and better publicised service emerge in many areas than has existed in the past (Hansard, 13th Feb 1991, cited in Sharp, 1991: 8).

By March 1991, the growing campaign was joined by Simon Rattle, who conducted 2000 young musicians in a performance of a specially-composed piece by Howard Blake entitled called 'Let Music Live' at the NFMY. The BBC Young Musician of the Year used the occasion to speak of the importance of her own instrumental music tuition at primary school (Sharp, 1991). In response, Tim Eggar, Junior Education Minister told Radio 4's Today Programme:

Music provision is in a stage of transition. As Local Management of Schools comes in, more budgets are devolved down to schools and therefore the choice rests increasingly with schools. Obviously the nature of music provision is going to change (quoted in Sharp, 1991: 9).

Such 'wait and see' responses from politicians disappointed many in the campaign, who accused the Government of a failure to assist through either legislation or funding. Practical help was required if the 'rough edges' of the privatisation process were not to impact on access to provision (Holman-Fox, 1993)<sup>35</sup>. The campaign continued, with a survey of ten professional orchestras conducted by the ABO suggesting that two thirds of their musicians had learned with the local music service at some point in their development. Half or more had received free tuition for at least some of this time. In particular, nineteen members of Bournemouth Sinfonietta alone confirmed that they would not have been able to pursue music professionally without such advantages (Sharp, 1991; Stephens, 1993). Plummeridge offered an opinion in September 1991:

The uncertainty over the future of instrumental tuition in schools is also a cause for great concern. So much has been achieved in this area; it would be a major tragedy and a disgrace if this aspect of music education were allowed to fall into decline and perhaps disappear altogether (Plummeridge, 1991: 131).

By November 1992, UKMET was arguing, 'instrumental and advisory teachers are losing their posts. Jobs aside, the real losers are our children. Without these forms of creative self-expression, without these means to experience the world, just what kind of adults will they turn out to be?' (UKCMET Bulletin, Nov 1992, quoted in Holman-Fox, 1993: 14). The following April, the Royal Society of the Arts hosted a high profile panel discussion on the issue featuring contributions by John Stephens, Nicholas Kenyon, Richard McNicol, Ann Blaber and other well-known musicians, music teachers and educationalists (see Stephens, 1993). Most of those present expressed grave concerns regarding the perceived state of local authority tuition and John Stephens summed up by urging everyone present to use their influence to lobby for change.

By the spring of 1993, representatives from the NFMY, Music Advisers National Association, the ABO, the Committee of Heads of Music Colleges,

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<sup>35</sup> According to Michael Wearne, Chairman of the Federation of Music Services and Director of Kent Music School, Conservative ministers felt that 'the public demand for quality instrumental provision given by quality teachers would congregate around whoever was spending on instrumental tuition, and that this would ultimately solve the initial problems of the 1988 Education Act. If there were a temporary blip, other music services would grow in the place of the ones that were dying out' (Ridgeway, 2002: 305).



the ISM, the Music Industries Association Education Committee, the Schools Music Association, and the UKCMET met to review their collective concerns regarding the 'changing patterns and arrangements for instrumental tuition in schools and the ensembles, bands and orchestras, at regional and local authority level' (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994: forward). The result was the drawing up of a 'statement of common purpose' regarding the importance of the future of this provision (thereby resulting in the moniker 'The Common Purpose Group' for this consortium of organisations). With additional funding from the Arts Council and The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the consortium went on to commission research from Coopers and Lybrand and MORI (overseen by John Stephens) which it was hoped would provide an accurate assessment of the impact of LMS<sup>36</sup>.

The research commissioned by the Common Purpose Group was in two phases, an initial postal survey of all but one of the local authorities in England and Wales (50% response rate) and a representative sample of 900 primary and secondary schools (46% and 58% response rates respectively). Questionnaires were completed by schools and local authorities between July and August 1993.

In the event, the Coopers and Lybrand/MORI (1994) study found no evidence that the proportion of pupils receiving instrumental tuition overall declined overall between 1991/92 and 1992/93. In fact, on average, local authorities claimed to have taught slightly more pupils in 1992/93. Nonetheless, the researchers noted, music services were still only reaching a minority of children – estimated to be fewer than 1 in 12 (8.3%). Those living in county council areas were more likely to have been able to access tuition than those living in London and other metropolitan areas.

The Coopers and Lybrand/MORI research team found that tuition was available within the 'vast majority' of secondary schools and around three quarter of primary schools. Despite the trend in the previous decade, the researchers found that only around 1% of pupils received lessons in

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<sup>36</sup>Some remained pessimistic regarding what such research could achieve: 'I do not see that there is much that [the Arts Council] can do to halt the erosion of instrumental teaching which, in a few years, will threaten the quality of our orchestras, and destroy the reputation of British performers in Europe and beyond built up so comparatively recently' (Warnock, 1993, online).

centralised music centres. Acoustic instruments still dominated, though singing lessons were on offer in 20% of primary schools and 30% of secondary schools. Electric instruments were offered in 13% of primary schools and 40% of secondary schools. Lessons in singing and electric instruments were more commonly offered by London authorities. The researchers noted growing pressure to increase access to non-Western instruments and popular music instruments, citing the National Curriculum's requirement that pupils study music from a variety of cultures as an important catalyst.

Parental fees were found to be commonplace as of 1993 and their use was predicted to increase (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994). It was estimated that between 25% and 33% of school instrumental tuition in 1992-93 had been funded by parents. In authorities where delegation had taken place, schools typically passed on the fees to parents. In areas where funds were still held centrally, schools were often found to be acting as collection 'agents' for the local authority. Fees to parents varied from between £40 per term to less than £20 per term, with most authorities adopting a rate at the lower end of this range. In areas where local authority music services had been terminated and replaced with private sector provision, parental charges ranged between £25 and £35 per term. In all cases, the lesson length and group size was considered in fee structures. In some cases, fees were kept down through the use of income derived from endowments, trust funds, or other sources such as sponsorship<sup>37</sup>. Some authorities continued to seek voluntary contributions.

With regard to LMS, the Coopers and Lybrand/MORI researchers found that, by the middle of 1993, only a minority of local authorities had delegated funding formerly reserved for a central music service. Nonetheless, many other authorities were at various stages of planning for, or implementing, LMS. Where delegation had occurred, experiences had generally been positive, with 'no evidence to suggest a decline in the number of pupils receiving instrumental tuition and some evidence to indicate an increase in

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<sup>37</sup> A cross-referencing of the research by Coopers & Lybrand//MORI (1994) and Rogers (1995) suggests that these other sources of funding yielded between 4-5% of music service income at this time.

the quality and cost effectiveness of the services being offered' (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994: para 5).

By late 1993, the Coopers and Lybrand/MORI research, taken alongside slightly later work by the Arts Council (Rogers, 1995) suggested that nationally, music services' fortunes had varied under LMS. Some were experiencing increased demand. Schools in Barnet, for instance, had requested instrumental teaching from Autumn Term 1993 that represented a 40-60% increase in former levels. Nonetheless, other services were 'struggling or operating on a much reduced level of provision' (Rogers, 1993: 7, quoted in Sharp, 1995: 7). As predicted by Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, the trend towards delegation did continue, and as of December 1993, over three-quarters of local authorities questioned by the Arts Council had devolved, or were in the process of devolving, funding for music services (Rogers, 1995). Where delegation did occur, the average hourly charge to schools was estimated to have doubled between 1992-93 and 1993-94 (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994).

A further legal development was that Section 280 of the recently-passed 1993 Education Act now made it possible for charges to be made for group lessons with up to four pupils (NACCCE, 1999; Baker, 2005). Tuition forming part of a public examination course remained exempt (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994). Nonetheless, inconsistencies remained, since some schools and services charged parents whose children learned in larger groups because they each received 'individual' attention within these.

The Coopers and Lybrand/MORI research updated the contemporary picture of local authority instrumental tuition access and provision considerably. After its publication, the Common Purpose group was dissolved, with responsibility for taking forward the research findings passed to its constituent members (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994). Despite offering a picture that was probably more positive than many had expected, these findings did not reassure everyone. In particular, professional musicians and music educators continued to express grave concerns regarding the impact of LMS on school music, and on school instrumental tuition in particular (Rogers, 1995). These matters were prominent agenda items for a high profile national conference

for headteachers, education officers, governors, parents, teachers and heads of music services held alongside the NFMY in July 1994 (Peggie, 1995). Addressing the conference, Dr Janet Ritterman, Director of the Royal College of Music, recalled CEMA's wartime philosophy of 'the best for the most', and argued that challenges faced by local authority music services one of the most pressing threats to keeping this philosophy alive. Whilst the existing peripatetic instrumental system featured an 'imperfect structure', this was being weakened still further by the restructuring of instrumental provision at the time (quoted in Rogers, 1995: 59). Subsequently, in November 1994, a new lobby group called 'Music for All' was formed under the auspices of the Music Industries Association. This group's three main objectives were to see Ofsted tasked with inspecting instrumental music tuition, the DfE to explore producing non-statutory guidance on fee remission and the securing of funds to support area and regional ensembles (Rogers, 1995).

By June 1995, one-third of metropolitan music services were found to be charging for tuition and three quarters for instrument hire according to research by Spencer (1995). Almost all of the authorities questioned reported concerns that charging for tuition might limit the participation of children from poorer families. In Doncaster, for instance, Spencer found that three schools in the most disadvantaged area had not continued to buy in the local music service provision. On the other hand, Spencer found that music services remained active in the majority of authorities in 1995, though some considered themselves to be 'hanging on by the fingernails' (Spencer, 1995: 10). Some had seen growth and felt that conditions were buoyant. Hackney, for instance, reported that demand for service had never been higher. Spencer found that around half of county music services had been able to recruit new staff (some, such as Cambridge, with a resulting increase in the perceived quality of the workforce). Suffolk felt that delegation had made the service more equitable whilst Sheffield was reaching more children despite (or because) of the introduction of parental charging. Despite Derbyshire's service closing altogether, careful central coordination of the remaining private and charity provision, along with significant parental support (Ridgeway, 2002), meant that the total number of pupils receiving instrumental tuition actually increased. 90% of schools in Dorset had chosen

to buy back tuition from the Music Service, though some had reduced the number of hours bought.

The Federation of Music Services (FMS) was established in 1996, out of a need 'to cope with the 'non-essential' designation afforded to instrumental teaching as a result of the Education Reform Act' (Cox, 2006: 376). The FMS sought to bring music services together in the coordination of policy and in Government lobbying (Baker, 2005). A key early objective for the FMS, working in collaboration with the National Association of Music Educators (NAME)<sup>38</sup>, was to issue a draft framework for instrumental and vocal teaching that would be linked to the National Curriculum. Work began in April 1997. This initiative, which would become the 'Common Approach' framework, was a bid by music services to secure 'coherence in children's musical experiences' (Baker, 2006: 47). It was also a means of ensuring that services themselves were placed in an 'indispensable position' (Baker, 2005: 264). Also in 1996, a further Education Act made it compulsory for local authorities to devolve music budgets to schools (Hallam, 1998a). Significantly, it also stated that a 'declared policy on fee remissions for poorer pupils' had to be prepared (NMC, 2002: 54).

The research conducted by the Performing Rights Society (PRS) (1999) marked the last large major of work on music services before the announcement of the MSF. Again, this report presented a very mixed picture with regard to access and participation. Responding music services said they were now reaching around 3% more young people than in 1993. This was partly down to an *increase* in the numbers of schools served overall. On the other hand, this expansion was not universal and two in five services reported that they no longer provided any support to some schools within their authorities. The PRS researchers found that authorities with the most schools in their areas were also the most likely to have ceased serving some of them. Almost two thirds of music services were now offering more opportunities to young people in their area (though 17% said they offered the same and 16% offered fewer opportunities). Overall, however, there was

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<sup>38</sup>The close working relationship between FMS and NAME was cemented in February 2013 when the two organisations merged to become 'Music Mark' – see <http://www.musicmark.org.uk/about-music-mark/history>

evidence of a significant decrease in the availability of most instrumental ensemble support (in the form of orchestras, wind bands, recorder groups, string ensembles, brass bands, chamber groups, rock/pop groups, jazz ensembles and big bands). In part, this was due to parents being less willing to pay for these ensembles than in the past. On the other hand, steel bands were 1% more common than in 1993. Overall, the PRS concluded, demand for tuition continued to outstrip supply. In only 27% of schools was demand found to have been met fully and in one third of schools a great deal of demand went unmet. Other concerning matter was that one third fewer schools than in 1993 had written policies on instrumental tuition.

Collectively, then, the mid 1990s witnessed an 'intensive period of campaigning' (Morris, 2005: para. 4) which sought to ensure that a new Government would recognise and tackle the 'plight' of the school instrumental tuition in all its forms. On the other hand, it is important to consider these campaigns and their messages alongside the evidence from the various surveys of provision that showed increased pupil access in many cases, alongside evidence of more diversified and reflexive working practices on the part of music services. It was clearly a very mixed picture: whilst England still enjoyed an international reputation for high calibre, elite youth music ensembles in 1990s (Sharp, 1991; Rogers, 1995), legislation was also passed in 1996 requiring local authorities to prepare policies on fee remission for poorer instrumental learners.

## **Summary**

The first of this study's research questions was:

To what extent has the professional and institutional culture that has evolved within local authority music services promoted equality of opportunity?

On the basis of the sources reviewed above, there is evidence that some of England's oldest local authority music services originally sought to maximise young people's participation through the provision of tuition freely or at very low cost. Their motivations for this could be a coming together of the existing low-cost, 'grass roots' philosophy of the RMS and the social, moral, democratizing motivations of wartime bodies such as CEMA. However, there

is also evidence that, from their inception, other older music services sought to focus resources on an 'elite' group of pupils perceived to possess greater levels of musical aptitude. This school of thought took forward earlier notions of 'musical appreciation' and the perceived duty of educators to cultivate the 'informed listener' as opposed to active music maker. More generally, the quote from J H White's letter above gives a sense of how broadening the musical 'franchise' on any basis was not universally welcomed within the world of education.

Thus, from the outset, those working in local authority music services were faced with an inherent tension in trying to balance instrumental experience for the many, with even more specialist support and opportunities for, as some might have regarded them, the talented few. Over the subsequent half century, this tension continued to exert an influence, particularly whenever funding (which was rarely plentiful anyway, due in part to the non-statutory status of the provision) was threatened by the broader economic or political climate. Its influence can be seen in the evolution of the pyramid model of musical instrumental tuition/experiences opportunities, which accepts that ever fewer young people will be involved as provision became more specialist and elite. Yet as we have seen, where there was a need to supplement public funding with parental fees, it was often the more advanced levels of tuition that attracted the higher fees, either for the privilege of one-to-one tuition or because fees were charged once pupils reached secondary school age. Elementary lessons as part of a group continued to be offered cheaply or for free for far longer. Thus progression up the pyramid might not have been due to musical factors alone but also to the availability of money to fund this ascent, either in the form of lesson fees or associated costs such as for transport. At the extreme, it is possible that prominent individuals who adopted a 'halcyon view' over the years are able to do so precisely because this pyramid system *worked for them*. The views of those who did not or could not continue the ascent past the lower stages are perhaps less likely to be recorded.

The influence of this inherent tension, combined with a growing emphasis on the perceived 'academic' elements of the school curriculum, led to the

location of formal instrumental activity largely within the extra-curricular, out-of-the-classroom domain of school life. The divergence of classroom, curricular music and extracurricular music was aided by the adoption of very different types of instrument, i.e. cheaper, mass produced recorders and hand percussion for the majority and ‘proper’ orchestral instruments for the few. The findings of the Newsom Report and Enquiry I in the 1960s confirmed that there were by then two distinct music education systems in England and that one of these systems – the one intended for the majority – was not as successful as the system intended for the few. A secondary school’s position within the tripartite structure was also a factor, adding to the longstanding suspicions amongst some commentators that local authority tuition benefitted a largely middle class clientele. More generally still, throughout the existence of music services, the individual schools served might have very different cultures of promoting and supporting musical activity, and of collaborating with peripatetic colleagues. Much was down to the efforts and philosophies of individual school staff. This situation became far more pronounced following the introduction of LMS, with music services repositioned as ‘customers’ and schools responsible for fee and remission policies.

For school and music service personnel tasked with making decisions as to who would be offered tuition and who would not be, this inherent tension often led to the adoption of what might be termed a ‘pragmatic mind-set’. Many were naturally very uncomfortable about making selections but might come to the conclusion that there was no real alternative within the prevailing funding and organisational structures: there were only a finite number of opportunities and only some young people would be able to access these. Over time, a wide variety of ways evolved to identify promising candidates for tuition, including more ‘explicit’ approaches such as musical aptitude testing and more ‘implicit’, hidden or unacknowledged approaches such as the ability of parents to pay tuition fees or perhaps travel to music centres, many of these were predicated in turn on family culture, background and values. Additionally, there is evidence that some music service personnel would target schools known to have supportive musical cultures. Interestingly, given what we now know about the psychology of musical aptitude testing, the



adoption by some of these tests was done in part to *reduce* the accusation of middle class or other cultural bias (although the actual situation may have been still more complex – see Chapter 4). At the other end of the process, the use of terms such as ‘wastage’, and the acceptance of high dropout rates—perhaps without too many questions being asked about the reasons—continued well in to the 1980s. In fact, it was only in the 1990s, partly as a result of a new ‘customer-led’ ethos, that some music services began to adopt more rigorous quality assurance measures.

Irrespective of how music services and their staff handled tensions regarding the breadth of access and participation, there is little evidence that music services until the 1960s that many sought to offer breadth of musical genres or cultures. Much of the early provision appears to have been infused with an Arnoldian or Reithian desire to help introduce participants to some of the ‘best’ of human cultural achievements, i.e. orchestral classical music, with the idea that their families and communities would be all the better for this. This began to change very slowly with the growth of mass media and pop culture from the 1960s and trends towards provision for brass, popular and non-Western ensembles are highlighted above. Significantly, some of this nascent provision appears to have been affected disproportionately by the cuts of the 1980s, with the suggestion that some within music services still adhered to earlier cultural and educational values. Provision for young people with SEND was another area which only began to develop later and to a far less extent.

The move towards comprehensivisation in the 1960s, followed by greater cultural and stylistic plurality in the 1970s, did lead some to begin to re-evaluate the basis on which music services operated. However, by this time, several generations of prominent musicians and educators had themselves progressed through these systems, potentially leading to a situation where the ‘pragmatic mind-set’ of making the best of a less-than-ideal system had become reified, regarded as the accepted ‘norm’ if not stated policy, regarding how publicly-funded instrumental tuition schemes should operate. Evidence for this theory comes from the way that, despite overall levels of participation and breadth of provision beginning to *increase* as music

services re-organised and reconsidered their work in the way of ERA, the concomitant challenge to the well-established pyramid model may have led, in part, to the prominent public campaigns led by some within the musical establishment.

Ultimately, it would only be with the introduction of the MSF (see Chapter 5) that many of these complex and potentially contentious issues surrounding access and participation were fully articulated and subjected to scrutiny.

## **Chapter 4 – Identifying 'hidden' barriers to participation in local authority music service tuition**

### **Introduction**

Chapter 3 highlighted some of the perceived barriers as they emerged over the historical development of music service provision. The notion of hidden barriers that may prevent or impede some young people from accessing local authority music service tuition is not new. For instance, the authors of the SCAM (1960) report noted that success in instrumental learning relied upon far more than musical 'ability' alone. Subsequently, both Farmer (1979) and Cleave and Dust (1989) referred to the existence of forms of 'hidden selection' that can impact on the range of young people who are able to come forward for lessons, even where a service may have had a stated policy of 'access for all'.

In order to address research question 2, this chapter takes the exploration of hidden barriers forward in more detail and explores additional, related factors identified during the historical documentary analysis phase of the research. These perceived barriers were found to be present – to a greater or lesser extent – in discourse surrounding local authority music services over much or all of their history. In brief, the themes are characterised as follows:

- middle class 'sense of entitlement' vs. working class 'sense of constraint';
- ability to pay fees (tuition, purchase/hire instruments);
- family vehicle ownership;
- instrument size and weight;
- distances between pupils' homes and teaching/rehearsing sites;
- perceptions and realities regarding pupils' home life and environment;
- family value/awareness of arts and culture;
- school culture and historical relationship between music service and school; and
- ethnic/cultural background of pupil.

The chapter concludes by seeking to situate these various barriers within a common theoretical framework informed by Bourdieu's concepts of social and cultural capital.

### **Middle class 'sense of entitlement' vs. working class 'sense of constraint'**

It is possible to discern in the literature from the 1950s onwards a subtle yet growing alignment between instrumental recruitment and selection policies, and the values and aspirations of 'middle class' parents. Subsequently, one identifies further literature where this perceived alignment is highlighted explicitly and, in some cases, challenged.

Before proceeding it is worth reviewing what we mean by 'middle class' in this context since this is a notoriously difficult term to pin down. As Power *et al* (2003) note, definitions have been based on the prestige associated with particular professional or skilled job roles, wider notions of employability, career security and progression and, perhaps most importantly for our purposes, the kinds of assets or 'capital' – both financial and otherwise – that can be passed to the next generation. In Power *et al*'s study of education and the middle class, particular attention is paid to 'those sections of the middle class most likely to seek 'the right kind of education' for their children so as to secure a competitive edge in what they regard as 'the main site of social selection' (2003: 2).

Associations between a musical education and social-economic accomplishment are certainly not new, and the traditional provision of piano lessons in girls' education is one example of this (see Golby, 2004). Long's (1959) description of the recruitment procedures at one city grammar school suggests that this kind of association was alive and well in the mid-1950s; letters would be sent to parents emphasising the 'significant importance which instrumental and orchestral experience could have for a boy's subsequent chances of acceptance by a university or college' (1959: 68). According to Adams, by the 1960s, middle class parents—well-versed in 'how to take full advantage of the best within the system' (2002: 54) —were

very much aware of the opportunities presented to their children by the expansion of local authority music service provision. Writing a decade later, North London secondary school music teacher Paul Farmer wrote in strong terms about his perceptions of how pervasive this link had become:

There are social factors inherent in the present system which are perhaps most worrying of all... For example, in the case of a comprehensive school with an all ability intake, I believe we might *generally* expect to find that pupils learning instruments tend to be of middle class origin. If I am correct, under the present system the working class child will lose out like all others in the majority, and will also be less likely to be selected for instrumental teaching because of these social disadvantages. Thus for some the system is doubly unfair. It would of course be ridiculous to claim that working class children never learn musical instruments, but it is unrealistic to deny that the middle class child may have parents who will often encourage him or her to learn an instrument. They may also be prepared to buy one, or pay for private lessons while the child is at junior school, thus giving that child instant 'talent' on which basis he or she may be selected for free tuition in the secondary school (Farmer, 1979: 4, emphasis in original).

A reply to Farmer's arguments was provided by Cooper in 1985. Head of a large school music department, Cooper cited Peter Maxwell Davies as an example of a 'Lancashire working class' child who benefited from local authority instrumental tuition. Nonetheless, in his response, Cooper does seem to inadvertently add credence to Farmer's central argument:

Although everyone may have the opportunity to learn, the fact is so-called 'middle-class' children and parents are more likely to accept the offer. Today, 'class' differences tend to be contained in social values rather than financial conditions (Cooper, 1985: 23).

Complex and subtle social factors underlie this debate and the work of Lareau is helpful to explore these. On the basis of extensive ethnographic research undertaken over almost a decade, Lareau (2002) developed a theory of 'concerted cultivation' to describe an observed tendency of middle class American families to seek out curricular and extra-curricular opportunities perceived to have a beneficial social, economic and cultural impact on their children. According to Lareau, the strategies adopted by these parents differ markedly from those parents from working class and poorer backgrounds. These were more likely to emphasise, in Lareau's terms, the 'accomplishment of natural growth', and a belief that:

as long as they provide love, food, and safety, their children will grow and thrive. They do not focus on developing their children's special talents. Compared to the middle-class children, working-class and poor children participate in few organised activities and have more free time and deeper, richer ties within their extended families (2002: 748-749).

Lareau identified a wide range of organised activities sought out by middle class parents, including instrumental music lessons and rehearsals, Scouts, Brownies, sports lessons and games, dance lessons, religious activities, arts and crafts as well as extra-curricular academic activities. Lareau gives an example of one middle class mother who undertook a twenty-minute drive each Saturday morning in order for her son to attend an 0815 piano lesson, followed by two hours of choir rehearsal (the boy also received guitar tuition through his (private) school):

I don't see how any kid's adolescence and adulthood could not but be enhanced by an awareness of who Beethoven was. And is that Bach or Mozart? I don't know the difference between the two! I don't know Baroque from Classical—but he does. How can that not be a benefit in later life? I'm convinced that this rich experience will make him a better person, a better citizen, a better husband, a better father—certainly a better student (mother of 'Alexander', quoted in Lareau, 2002: 754).

More generally, Lareau found middle class parents often became extremely adept at establishing dialogue with educational professionals as a means of securing access to opportunities identified as beneficial for their children:

Middle-class parents' superior levels of education gave them larger vocabularies that facilitated concerted cultivation, particularly in institutional interventions. Poor and working-class parents were not familiar with key terms professionals used... Furthermore, middle-class parents' educational backgrounds gave them confidence when criticizing educational professionals and intervening in school matters. Working-class and poor parents viewed educators as their social superiors (2002: 771).

Returning to instrumental tuition recruitment in the 1960s, it is instructive to consider advice given by one local authority music adviser in the light of Lareau's analysis:

So much is taken for granted in education nowadays that it is politic to bring a little formality into the proceedings at this stage. If parents have to make application in writing to the Headteacher or to the Director of Education on behalf of their children, they are more likely to respect the opportunities that are being offered. It is an advantage, too, to invite parents to attend a meeting at which the scheme and all that it implies is fully explained and discussed (Dalby, 1966: 8).

Another local authority's selection policy document from the mid-1980s suggests that such methods remained in use some twenty years later:

It is strongly recommended that, whenever possible, the Headteacher or Head of Department should meet parents and explain their responsibilities. This is likely to ensure a seriousness of purpose and at least give a chance of eventual success (quoted in Cleave and Dust, 1989: 64).

On the basis of Lareau's theory, it would be the middle class parents, with their large vocabularies and greater social confidence, who would be better able to rise to the challenge of writing formal letters and meeting such professionals. More than this, however, according to Lareau the children of middle class families quickly learn that their parents' confident, articulate approach to these matters is often met with success. They soon begin to adopt similar strategies themselves:

The pattern of concerted cultivation encourages an emerging *sense of entitlement* in children. All parents and children are not equally assertive, but the pattern of questioning and intervening among the... middle-class parents contrasts sharply with the definitions of how to be helpful and effective observed among the... working-class and poor adults. The pattern of the accomplishment of natural growth encourages an emerging *sense of constraint* (2002: 749).

An example from the instrumental tuition literature can be found in Mawbey's (1973) study of selection procedures within one local authority as of 1969. Mawbey found that it was considerably more common for pupils to request lessons for themselves than for their parents to request on their behalf. In fact, in just under one third of schools surveyed, teachers waited for pupils to approach them to request instrumental tuition. In such cases, these requests were typically likely to be met.

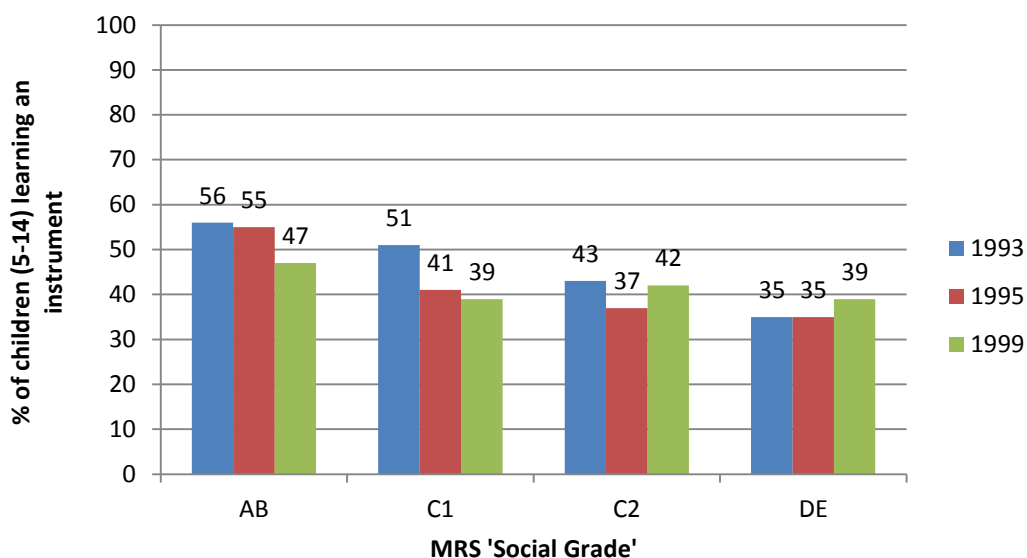
More generally, by the 1980s, much of the professional literature in this area conveyed the belief that, by waiting for pupils to come forward to request

tuition, only suitably self-motivated individuals would progress, effectively screening out those who were 'not really committed'. Indeed, some local authorities had by this time adopted some form of assessment of pupil motivation as their preferred means of selection (Barnes, 1982; Cleave and Dust, 1989). In Cooper's (1985) study, instrumental teachers identified pupil motivation as the most important selection factor (in contrast, the results of musical aptitude testing were ranked as ninth most important). The most common form of 'motivation' test was the use of a trial tuition period. Yet beyond this, Hallam (1998a) summarises some of the many other kinds used by instrumental teachers. These included questioning pupils carefully regarding their desire to play, setting them a difficult musical task to complete (e.g. learning aspects of notation or terminology), arranging to see them at inconvenient times and attempting to 'put them off' with warnings that playing an instrument will involve long hours of practise and great commitment to succeed.

Some of these strategies are reminiscent of the Rabbi slamming the door in the face of the would-be Jewish convert three times in order to test the strength of his or her conviction! (Kadden and Kadden, 1997). It may be that they have historically served to *exacerbate* rather than *alleviate* selection iniquities. As Fletcher notes, 'ironically, it is the attempt to categorise such characteristics that has helped to give instrumental music its mistaken 'elitist' status, for it has encouraged a predominantly middle-class clientèle' (1987: 142). Viewed through the lens of Lareau's theory, the danger of many of these approaches is that they do not necessarily test commitment towards musical engagement *per se*, but more the ability to negotiate confidently such social, educational and verbal 'trials'. If success in these tasks is taken as a proxy for motivation to learn their instrument, it may be that middle class pupils' developing 'sense of entitlement' may naturally privilege them for selection. More generally, an ability to express oneself through the dominant, elaborated discourse of the middle classes is, of course, regarded as a pre-requisite for school 'success' by Bernstein in his theory of elaborated and restricted codes (Curtis and Pettigrew, 2009).



The middle class, argued Fletcher in 1987, 'has no monopoly whatever on the emotional intelligence required of a musician' (p. 143). Yet data gathered from the early 1990s onwards suggested that, perhaps in part due to the reasons above, this group may have nonetheless had a disproportionate hold on instrumental opportunity within the UK at this time. Between 1993 and 1999, the ABRSM in conjunction with NOP undertook three large-scale surveys of instrumental learning in the UK. These surveys included children aged between 5 and 14 who were learning via all routes, i.e. not just those in receipt of music service tuition but also private lessons and those learning instruments such as the recorder in school. Included were questions enabling the researchers to assess the 'social grades' of participating children based on the well-known classifications used by the Market Research Society (MRS) (2006). Although not solely focused on music service pupils, it is still possible to gain a sense of differences between social grades in relative terms. In 1993, for instance, 56% of children from AB backgrounds (i.e. where parents are higher or intermediate ranked managers, administrators or professionals) reported playing an instrument, but only 35% of those from DE backgrounds (i.e. where parents were semi/unskilled manual or casual workers, or on state benefits) did so (figure 4.1). Figures for 1995 were very similar for these two social grades, although those for 1997 showed a slight narrowing of the gap as part of a plateauing effect across all social grades.



**Figure 4.1** A comparison of the figures on the social grades of instrumental learners aged 5-14, collected as part of the *Making Music* surveys (ABRSM, 1994; 1995; 1997). The classification system in use is the well-known MRS system (MRS, 2006) – also see Chapter 9.

The first two ABRSM *Making Music* reports offered significant ammunition for those lobbying central government support for local instrumental tuition at this time (Wright, 2013). ‘All music services’, commented FMS chair Michael Wearne, were aware that this research effectively ‘showed a drop of 300,000 five to 10-year-olds making music between 1993 and 1996 in lower to middle-income families’ (quoted in TES, 1999: online). Subsequently, the 1997 edition was particularly influential on ministers as they prepared to launch the MSF (Morris, 2000).

### Ability to pay fees (tuition, purchase/hire instruments)

#### *Tuition fees*

The existence, in at least some places and in some contexts, of free tuition from the late 1940s onwards is perhaps the source of the nostalgic view that local authority music service tuition was generally free from this period onwards, even if there were associated costs (e.g. ensemble membership and instrument loan) (e.g. NMC, 2002). In fact, contemporary evidence (e.g. Hooper, 1946) suggests a more complex and varied picture, even from the beginnings of local authority provision. As noted in Chapter 3, it seems that the norm in most areas was for parents to make a small, subsidised contribution per lesson. The first major review of provision in 1958 concluded

that between one quarter and one third of local authorities sought parental contributions for group lessons (SCAM, 1960). Fees of one sort or another remained common in the 1960s and 1970s, when first service expansion and, subsequently, local authority reorganisation often unbalanced the books.

Thus, despite the halcyon retrospections of some prominent professional musicians, a review of the available evidence suggests that there was never a time when local authority instrumental tuition was wholly free to all those who wished to learn. Instead, it appears more accurate to conclude that free access to *some* activities was possible for *some* pupils in *some* places and at *some* times over the past seventy years. In cases where tuition itself was available without cost to pupils, fees were often charged for instrumental loans, participation in ensembles, music centre/school activities and courses, concerts and tours. Before 1981, charging policy remained at the discretion of each local authority and, as such, detailed information on fees and their impact is very hard to come by. In the wake of the High Court ruling, there is evidence that some authorities sought to recuperate tuition costs through a wide variety of peripheral, sometimes obfuscated, mechanisms. Thus, here again, it is difficult to make any clear assessments of the impact of charging with regard to particular groups of pupils.

What *is* clear from the literature throughout the history of local authority instrumental tuition is that many involved in administering and delivering this tuition have been distinctly uneasy about charging pupils and their families. Again, this perhaps reflects an inherent tension in attempting to provide access to what has traditionally been regarded as specialist provision to the greatest number of young people.

By the mid-1980s, Cleave and Dust (1989) had seen enough evidence of the impact of these fees to regard them as a form of 'hidden selection'. Even very small costs associated with tuition, they concluded, served to limit opportunity, particularly to pupils whose family incomes were just above thresholds where means tested financial support might have been available. ERA's re-framing of the law regarding fees for individual instrumental tuition led to further change. Cleave and Dust (1989) found evidence that with the

passing of the Act came growing suspicions that it would increasingly be schools and parents from more affluent areas that would be willing to pay for instrumental tuition. Similarly, fears were expressed that schools in more deprived areas might have more pressing priorities, and that parents in these areas might be discouraged from requesting tuition if they believed that they might be asked to pay fees.

By the 1990s, parental charging was on a more legally secure footing and music services began a trend of rebalancing their income away from unpredictable local authority grants (Sharp, 1991, Hallam, 1998a). In 1991, parents were making a contribution to lessons in 24% of authorities and completely funding 2% of services. Parents subsidised ensembles and music centres in 38% of authorities and completely funded those in 2%. The following academic year, unsourced evidence cited by Rogers (1995) suggest that, nationally, parental contributions were making up between 30% and 37% of music service income.

Thanks to a political and educational climate in the 1990s which was increasingly concerned with equality of opportunity, research findings begin to emerge that offers a more complete picture regarding the impact of this charging on pupils' access to provision. Sharp's (1991) findings painted a complex picture of slightly increased learners overall, tempered by further concerns regarding the impact of fees and continuing perceptions of middle class bias. Nonetheless, by the summer of 1991 when the research was conducted, 67% of participating authorities reported that parental charging had not, by that point, impacted on pupil numbers. This was either because fees had not yet been introduced or because there were remission schemes in place. Significantly, however, Sharp found these remission schemes were vulnerable to budget cuts. Subsequently, by 1993, Coopers and Lybrand/MORI (1994) suggested that whilst parental charging was ever more common, effective remission policies were still not universally in place. Where they did exist, their generosity varied widely and application procedures could be confusing or complex (Rogers and Hallam, 2010). Nonetheless, over all, the evidence gathered by the Coopers and

Lybrand/MORI research team suggested that the impact of increased parental charging at the time was very mixed:

Access of pupils may be affected by the wider use of fees for music lessons and the arrangements for remission of fees. On the one hand, it is evident from our study that charging fees does enable schools to purchase additional hours of tuition, and that there have been improvements in commitment and performance as a result, and perhaps of increased interest from parents. On the other hand, fees will clearly deter pupils from families on low incomes, or pupils from large families, unless they are remitted. We share the concern expressed to us by many headteachers serving poorer neighbourhoods that opportunities for access to musical education are already biased in many LEAs towards the more affluent areas, and that fees could increase this bias further. This will depend to a large extent on whether an adequate remission policy is in operation (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994: paras. 405-407).

The Coopers and Lybrand/MORI research revealed considerable professional concerns about the increasing use of parental fees, the varied effectiveness of remission policies, the impact of those from low-income families and the message that this sent regarding the accessibility of school music. However, the researchers did not collect data on the socio-economic status of pupils and it was only with the later ABRSM surveys (see above) that a clearer picture emerged. Even when one acknowledges the inclusion of those learning outside local authority music services in the ABRSM data, the difference between the various social grades was marked. Findings such as these gave credence to the theory—much in evidence in the 1990s—that the middle class grip on instrumental tuition was tightening due to the added factor of parental charging. If one accepts Lareau's thesis, not only did the middle classes have a motive in the form of concerted cultivation, they were also far more likely to have the means—in the form of economic capital—to access this tuition:

For many [pupils] the opportunity would be lost due to economics and the attitudes of their parents who think 'we won't pay for this because we are not musical' – therefore the potential of discovery of musical talent will be taken away from us. Also the music making possibilities that enhance many children's lives will not exist (Paul Ruby, Senior Instrumental Organiser, Barnet Council, quoted in Holman-Fox 1993: 13).

If some sort of financial help is not forthcoming, music will become the preserve of those who can afford to pay. It will become a middle-class subject and so emphasise class differences... Music is too often seen as an elitist, middle-class activity. Instrumental teachers must offer music for all, not just the chosen few. A central peripatetic team can make an impact on schools, increasing opportunity and access for pupils who may not have thought of taking up an instrument and whose parents may not be aware of the potential of their children (Mold, 1992: 27)<sup>39</sup>.

For Mold (1992) such a situation seemed strangely at odds with the contemporary vision espoused by prime minister John Major of a 'classless society'. Writing at the time, Holman-Fox observed that the 'ethics of charging for instrumental lessons are rarely considered today. It almost seems a *fait accompli* that instrument lessons are something a child can manage without' (1993: 10). The situation could be aggravated because very few charitable trusts were reported to be prepared to contribute towards the cost of children's instrumental lessons (Holman-Fox, 1993)<sup>40</sup>.

According to research by the TES, average charges for instrumental lessons increased by 40% between 1995 and 1998 (Lepowska, 1998). The latter was the year in which the next major piece of research into local authority music services was conducted under the auspices of the PRS (1999). This found that the trend away from public funding had continued through the 1990s and that, overall, levels of local authority contributions to music service budgets now stood at around 41% of total income. The majority of the remaining income came from schools and parents, who paid 79% of tuition fees in primary schools (amounting to an average termly cost of £57.60) and 78% in secondary (amounting to an average termly cost of £65.60). Only 28% of primary schools and 56% of secondary schools offered any remission for these costs. In areas still supported by central music services termly fees were considerably lower: on average £23.60 for group tuition and £49.20 for individual tuition. Additional fees of around £16 for music centre membership were common. 52% of local authorities had a fee remission policy and there was evidence that these were more prevalent in county council areas. Again,

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<sup>39</sup> Jeremy Mold was a former local government officer for Derbyshire County Council (Mold, 1992).

<sup>40</sup> Although Homan-Fox did subsequently report that Barnet eventually found a charitable trust that was prepared to subsidise lessons for pupils from poorer backgrounds.

regional variation was common and different types of local authority took very different approaches. The greatest hardship was found to be in the North East and North West of England. The PRS researchers concluded:

More parents are having difficulty paying music tuition fees and appear less able or willing to pay for performance groups; fees have tended to rise more than inflation; the availability of fee remission for poor families depends on where they happen to live... The availability of fee remission appears random there is more availability in secondary (especially in London Boroughs) than primary (though especially *not* London Boroughs). In Eastern region and West Midlands than other parts, and in large LEAs (which are more likely to have a remissions policy than small LEAs). So if you are a poor pupil in a secondary school in a large LEA with a remissions policy in the Eastern region you have a good chance, but if you are in a primary school in small LEA without a written policy, especially a London Borough, your chances are lower (PRS, 1999: 2.4-2.10).

#### *Instrumental loan fees and other costs*

The provision of stocks of instruments was particularly affected by financial cuts from the 1980s onwards. A survey by the Federation of Music Industries conducted in 1984 found that almost all of the 39 music services questioned still intended to purchase new instruments for the academic year ahead (cited by Cleave and Dust, 1989). Whilst the average spend was projected to be £78,500, this masked significant variation, with budget allocations ranging from £1,600 to £383,000 (cited by Rogers, 1985). A year later, Cleave and Dust (1989) found that the number of music services intending to purchase new stocks had fallen to 85%. Ever-increasing instrument prices set against static budget allocations were cited by services as the cause. Comments to the researchers gave the impression that, whilst local authorities typically appreciated the 'window dressing' of youth orchestras and other ensembles, they were sometimes less accepting of the associated costs of maintaining and purchasing the necessary resources.

Despite cutbacks, 38% of the services questioned by Cleave and Dust (1989) reported that local authority-owned instruments were still lent to pupils free of charge for an unlimited period, even though pupils may eventually be encouraged to buy their own (where financial hardship was not a factor). Other authorities (26%) adopted a similar arrangement but had an expectation that pupils would purchase their own instruments at the end of a

limited period (which varied widely, and was assessed on varying criteria, from authority to authority). In 25% of authorities, most pupils bought their own instruments but, where music service stock was available, this was loaned free of charge. Only in the remaining 11% of services did any form of hire charge apply for these services (again, policies varied widely). One authority had an instalment plan, so that instruments could be bought from the authority over the last two years of schooling meaning that the players were not left without an instrument on finishing their tuition. Where payment for instruments was necessary, parent-teacher associations were increasingly called upon to support<sup>41</sup> (Ben-Tovim and Boyd, 1987; Cleave and Dust, 1989).

Well over a third of respondents in Cleave and Dust's (1989) survey said that their music service requested parental contributions towards the upkeep and repair of instruments, even when these were being loaned for free.

Contributions ranged between £2.95 and £9.75 per year. 88% of authorities surveyed by Cleave and Dust (1989) reported that they expected parents to fund the purchase of sheet music. However, within the 12% of authorities where sheet music was provided for pupils, some staff had strong views that it should be free, in line with resources provided for curriculum courses in other subjects (e.g. English text books).

Subsequently, parental charges, and geographical variation in fees and remission policies would remain a very controversial issue throughout the MSF era. However, as outlined in Chapter 5, the government's famous pledge on primary school pupils' access to instrumental tuition did effect some change through the Music Manifesto and the WO scheme (Baker, 2005).

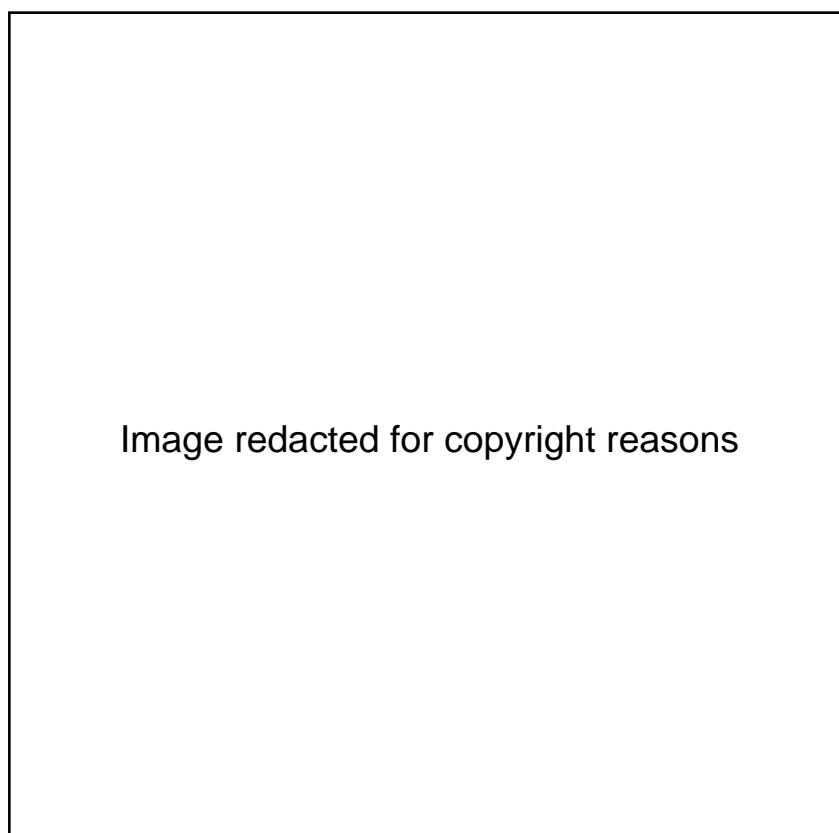
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<sup>41</sup>In Trafford, Rogers (1985) reported that parent-teacher association funds were used to pay for instrumental tuition itself.



### **Family vehicle ownership, instrument size and weight and distances between pupils' homes and teaching/rehearsing sites**

Literature dealing with local authority music service tuition has often highlighted concerns that pupils may be put off commencing or sustaining lessons in cases where they live further from school or ensemble rehearsal venues, or where they play a large or heavy instrument. Such issues are further compounded in situations where there is no family access to a vehicle (figure 4.2)<sup>42</sup>.



**Figure 4.2** The practical challenges of becoming a double bass player (reproduced from Slatford and Pettitt, 1985: 28).

Long's (1959) survey of provision between 1954 and 1956 found that pupils who lived further away from school were placed at a disadvantage through a reliance on public transport schedules that did not tend to support after-school activity. Such pupils also faced reduced opportunities to practise in the evenings due to the time spent commuting. Long also pointed out that

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<sup>42</sup> One is reminded of the early popularity of the violin and recorder for children as small, lightweight instruments (see Chapter 3 and also Taylor, 1979).

carrying a large instrument could also be a discouragement, particularly for younger pupils. Several years later, the Standing Committee on Amateur Music highlighted the case of a child who had decided to forego an opportunity to learn the cello because of a need to transport it on a lengthy bus journey home (SCAM, 1960).

The growing trend in the 1980s to concentrate tuition within out-of-hours music centres in order to enable parental charging (see Chapter 3) brought these issues into sharp relief. Pupils were increasingly being asked to travel further for lessons and rehearsals and this brought with it further access challenges relating to the availability of either a private car or public transport. The situation in Kingston-upon-Thames illustrates this point well (Rogers, 1985). Here, a mixed delivery model was adopted from 1985 involving private teachers visiting schools. In addition, a new music centre had been established in 'an isolated part of the borough' in which 'more specialist tuition could be conducted in the evenings' (p14). This kind of policy attracted criticism from Her Majesty's Inspectorate, who noted that some pupils were likely to experience hardship as a result (cited in Cleave and Dust, 1989).

AMMA also expressed concern:

The institution of Music Centres has frequently aggravated the problem by involving the parents of pupils in further, not inconsiderable, expenditure on fares as well as tuition, and extra time taken from homework time in order to travel to and from the Centres, though they do provide an opportunity for musically talented children to meet in greater numbers. Several comments were received, however, to the effect that the extra expenditure of time and money was causing the number of applicants for tuition at some Centres to fall (AMMA, 1984: 40).

Nonetheless, it was not until Cleave and Dust's (1989) systematic survey that the true extent of these issues become clear. The authors concluded that the financial upheavals of the early 1980s had contributed not only to increased variation in provision *between* local authorities (see Chapter 3) but also *within* them. Schools in areas with falling populations were understandably reluctant to relinquish long-held peripatetic support in favour of areas of population growth. Similarly, some music services reported that it was difficult to provide tuition in rural parts of a borough since the need for additional transport (for

either pupils or staff) increased costs and led to complicated peripatetic scheduling. Sometimes centralising resources in area music centres did offer a solution to these issues and were useful as the location of tuition on large and electric instruments, e.g. percussion and guitars. Nonetheless, as noted above, this approach could bring about its own problems. On occasion, it seems likely that such challenges fractured provision along traditional local socio-economic boundaries:

Eighty-three per cent of our instrumental tuition is taken up by the middle-class prosperous south of the authority compared with 17 per cent in the poorer north (anonymous local authority music adviser, quoted in Cleave and Dust, 1989: 52).

As a result of these various challenges, the absence of access to a vehicle was explicitly identified by Cleave and Dust as a form of 'hidden selection' within local authority instrumental tuition programmes. Data on vehicle ownership in the mid-1980s bears this out. At this time, only 20% of the poorest quintile of households in England had access to a vehicle (Bayliss, 2009). Thus, whilst policy changes in the 1980s may not have worked against poorer pupils explicitly, they may have nonetheless done so indirectly.

Harland and Kinder's (1999) research found that young people identified transport issues as a key barrier to their participation in arts and cultural activities more generally in the late 1990s. Moreover, problems caused by the centralisation of some facilities continued to dog music services well after as their fortunes changed under the Music Standards Fund (see Chapter 5). Ofsted (2004) reported inspection evidence which found that, within some local authorities, the geographical siting of ensemble rehearsal locations continued to restricted access for pupils who had to rely on public transport. In such cases, music services were often over-reliant on the goodwill of local schools which were prepared to act as hosts for a low fee. In four of fifteen local authorities inspected, the siting of these venues for economic, rather than geographical considerations, was deemed by Ofsted to have resulted in very uneven representation from across the borough.

Subsequently, these issues were to receive fresh consideration thanks to Youth Music's *Endangered Species* scheme (Artservice, 2005; 2006). This provided funding to music services in May 2004 to purchase stocks of instruments considered to be at risk of 'dying out' due to low take-up by young players. The instruments funded under the scheme were bassoon, oboe, French horn, trombone, tuba (including the euphonium), baritone horn and double bass. Supplies of soft cases or 'gig bags' were also available under the scheme. In total, 89 music services received funding for over 2,000 instruments under the scheme, representing a total investment of £1.2million. Following the scheme's launch, much was made in the press of how several of the instruments on Youth Music's list were heavy and cumbersome to transport, with prominent musicians asked to comment on this situation:

Large instruments can be a problem—some of them can be 7ft tall. Parents don't want them sat around in a front room all weekend and transport is often an issue—if mum and dad don't have an estate car it can be difficult to move them (Gail Dudson, Beverley Chamber Music Festival, quoted in Sutcliffe, 2004: 1).

The size of the instrument puts some people off (David Childs, euphonium player, quoted in Pyke, 2003: 8).

Kids used to be bussed in to rehearsals with ensemble groups. Now their parents have to take them. If you're going to be a tuba player, your parents have got to have a car (Keith Griffin, Director of Tŷ Cerdd Music Centre, Cardiff, quoted in Clark, 2006: 13).

Evaluations of *Endangered Species* (Artservice, 2005; 2006) found that the scheme had been successful in tackling some of these issues, but that others remained pervasive. They confirmed that, particularly in rural areas, high transport costs and the impracticability of teaching groups in highly dispersed communities continued to impede access to tuition in some cases. In some authorities this was exacerbated by the fact that only a handful of learners played the 'endangered' instruments with the result that a single peripatetic teacher had to travel significant distances to teach them all. On the other hand, many participating music services reported that the publicity associated with the *Endangered Species* scheme had helped them recruit new teachers to roles where extensive travel requirements had previously

made posts unattractive. In other cases, the impetus from the scheme had prompted some services to review their provision of pupil transport to facilitate lessons and rehearsals. Nonetheless, evaluators confirmed the continued importance of parents supporting their children through transportation.

Pupils who played some of the Endangered Species instruments reported to evaluators that these were cumbersome to carry and that there could be a stigma attached to carrying 'old fashioned', 'coffin-style' instrument cases (Artservice, 2005). A minority of pupils reported bullying due to carrying a large, heavy instrument. These findings were partly responsible for the policy of distributing 'cooler', more portable 'gig bag' soft cases. Overall, 78% of Music Services reported that the scheme had enabled them to widen access to young people in their areas who had not formerly played an instrument. Within this, 13 services (26%) reported that the scheme had encouraged more pupils from black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) backgrounds to participate.

### **Perceptions and realities regarding pupils' home life, environment and family value/awareness of arts and culture**

Even as early as the mid-1950s, Long's (1959) survey identified that crowded conditions at home might make regular instrumental practise difficult. Long felt that this could potentially affect 'those in maintained schools who come from relatively poor homes' (1959: 69). Perhaps again reflecting traditional cultural links between musical and feminine 'accomplishments', Thackray's (1972) study found that music service pupils' home environments tended to favour girls' practical engagement over boys'. Fletcher (1987) argued that in families from poorer backgrounds, there may be a clash between parents' desire to have children out working early and the child's own desire to continue with musical studies. Holman-Fox (1993) noted that, on rare occasion, parents may view music service instrumental lessons as interfering with 'more important' school work. An explanation for this was offered by Fletcher, who attributed these conflicts to 'a clash between the conventional intelligence of the parents and the emotional intelligence of the young musician' (Fletcher, 1987: 143).

Endangered Species evaluators found some evidence to suggest that low cultural aspirations in some deprived areas *did* impact on the decisions of pupils to participate in music service tuition (Artservice, 2005; 2006).

Problems playing instruments at home were also a factor for some.

Nonetheless, once pupils had begun to play an endangered species instrument, they generally received positive support and interest from their family: 'My mum's eyes were wide open!' reported one young learner (quoted in Artservice, 2005: 9). This said, some parents remained concerned about the noise from practising and asked children to play away from the family as a result. More recently, Thomas's (2011) study of young brass musicians concluded that, amongst the characteristics attributed to less successful players, was a tendency to be:

impeded by relative family chaos: overwhelmed by parental disorganisation, the unsuccessful learner was likely to have been a member of an unpredictable and perhaps unstable family structure with few routines and little evidence of organised adolescence (Thomas, 2011: 11).

Nonetheless, on balance the weight of evidence suggests that parents have generally been very supportive of instrumental study. Research conducted in 1990 (and cited by Hallam, 1998a) found that 91% of parents questioned wished their children to learn an instrument, even if they themselves had never done so<sup>43</sup>. According to Davidson *et al* (1996), whilst parents of persistent musical learners were less likely to be directly involved in high level musical activity themselves, they generally remained *far more involved* than the parents of pupils who give up instrumental lessons. Furthermore, the literature has many examples of studies where professional musicians and music teachers attest to the importance of family and home life in their own developing careers. Mills' (1985) study of 46 orchestral musicians found that over a quarter had been influenced to take up their instruments by family members. Similarly, Baker (2005; 2006) highlights the importance of family encouragement and an appropriate home environment in the developing careers of professional music teachers. More recently, Hallam and Creech

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43 Similar findings regarding parental desires for children to learn instruments were reported during the ISM's 2010 poll on the MSF – see Chapter 5 and Annetts (2010).

(2010) have again pointed out the importance of positive encouragement and financial support from parents and family as key indicators of instrumental success. However, perhaps reflecting Lareau's 'concerted cultivation' theory reviewed above, Holman-Fox argued (1993) that, in her experience, few parents consider that learning an instrument is valuable for its own sake. Instead, she argued, there could often be significant pressure from parents for music service pupils to take instrumental exams.

Yet leaving aside the *realities* of pupils' life and their parents' level of support for instrumental tuition, we must also consider the impact of a second, related factor pertaining to professionals' *perceptions* of the significance of these issues. Here we may consider two examples of primary headteachers' informal selection policies, as given by Cleave and Dust (1989). The first headteacher reported that she effectively 'filtered out' children from socially deprived areas of her school's catchment area from those recommended for instrumental tuition since she felt that instruments could not safely be sent home to enable personal practise in these cases. The second headteacher took the opposite view, employing positive discrimination to ensure that pupils from more deprived backgrounds *were* shortlisted for selection on the basis that they may not get another opportunity to learn. Overall, 84% of responding music services in Cleave and Dust's survey reported that they assessed parental support in some way as part of the selection process. One service insisted that 'parents must declare their support before a child can be considered for inclusion in the instrumental scheme' (1989: 68) and sign a document to this effect.

Surveys of music service teachers themselves also suggested that perceived parental support was regarded as a key prerequisite for instrumental tuition. Cooper's (1985) study revealed that teachers placed parental interest second only to pupil's personal desire and motivation to learn in terms of their informal selection criteria. One of Cooper's interviewees stated they would prefer to choose the parents and then child. Thomson (1989c; 1989d) found that peripatetic teachers similarly privileged parental support even though the actual contact between teacher and parent was typically minimal during the

course of the tuition process. Hallam (1998a) summarised some of the ways in which instrumental music teachers make less formal 'assessments' of pupils' home circumstances and perceived parental support. In order to guide decisions regarding an appropriate choice of instrument, she noted that teachers might ask about space to practise and whether this would cause any noise problems. In order to assess potential parental support, Hallam reported that teachers could check whether pupils would be allowed to practise at home, and whether parents might be negative about their playing. Teachers could also check whether there was scope for parents to pay for essential equipment or instrument consumables, to agree to their child taking part in out-of-school activities, and to accompany their child to activities where they couldn't go alone.

Yet building on points made earlier in this chapter, Fletcher cautioned against relying too much on parental support in any assessment for selection for instrumental lessons. Although it is 'certainly an advantage', he argued, 'good home support' is often taken to mean a middle-class background' (1987: 143). Echoing these sentiments, the selection policy of another music service surveyed by Cleave and Dust (1989) was clear that, whilst desirable, a lack of parental support would not bar a child from learning. As noted in Chapter 1, there may also be subtle links between 'good home support' and the kinds of musical exposure that children may have experienced from a young age. Chapter 3 briefly reviewed the use of musical 'aptitude' tests in music service selection policy, noting the ambivalent status these enjoyed with many peripatetic teachers over the decades. In many cases, the use of formal 'aptitude tests' was supplemented by other less formal tests intended to assess potential musicianship (e.g. singing, clapping and observing a pupil's aesthetic response to a piece of music – see Fletcher, 1987; Hallam, 1998a and Hallam and Creech, 2010). With regard to formal aptitude tests, however, recent psychological research has challenged the view that these assess musical 'aptitude' at all. Instead, evidence now suggests that they instead highlight individuals lucky enough to have already experienced significant exposure to music and music-making, and to thus have more developed aural perception skills (McPherson and Hallam, 2009; Hallam and



Creech, 2010). Thus children from homes (or perhaps schools) with stronger musical traditions, or where particular value was placed upon musical activity, may be predestined to do better on such tests and, by extension, the other, less formal selection assessments listed above.

Such a situation is alluded to by Farmer in his argument, quoted in more length earlier, that those parents able to pay for private lessons for younger children may be able to confer upon the child 'instant 'talent' that subsequently results in selection for free tuition (Farmer, 1979: 4). Further evidence for this comes from Barnes' (1982) study of the famous Bentley Test. Barnes notes that some schools in the study appeared to have been more successful in 'getting children through' the test than others (1982: 246). If, as was typically claimed by their proponents, aptitude tests were simply casting light on some 'innate' ability, it is difficult to explain why pupils in any one school should be any more successful than any other. Further 'hidden' aspects to the implementation of musical aptitude tests identified by Barnes include the reliance on pupils' ability to write their answers to the exercises legibly on paper at the pace imposed by the relentless playback of a record or tape. In such cases, the musical aptitude test seems to have functioned as much as a test of handwriting and literacy as of music. Once again, Bernstein's argument that there are privileged modes of communication associated with school 'success' comes to mind.

### **School culture and historical relationship between music service and school**

Throughout the history of local authority music services, it has frequently been observed that provision made available to individual schools within a single authority varied considerably. The disparity between the numbers of pupils receiving tuition in primary and secondary schools, and between those in rural and urban schools have become regular themes within Chapters 3 and 4. Yet there is also considerable evidence in the literature that the perceived and actual institutional culture of a school—in particular the value placed upon musical activity by staff, parents and pupils—has impacted on the levels of music service provision that it received. 'School culture' has

been defined as 'the integration of environmental, organisational and experiential features of school existence to offer a context for teaching and learning, and its subsequent improvement' (Glover and Coleman, 2005: 266).

Chapter 3 noted that since the earliest days of the English school system, music has often been most successful in schools when enthusiastic headteachers, heads of department/subject coordinators or other individual teachers have prioritised and championed practical activity. Given their non-statutory basis, it was perhaps inevitable then that local authority instrumental tuition schemes would become embedded most deeply in schools where music was valued and supported, and that the administrators of such schemes might consciously or unconsciously prioritise provision in such schools.

From the 1950s, evidence suggests that it was these same schools that provided the most fertile ground for burgeoning local authority instrumental schemes to take root (e.g. Long, 1959; Dalby 1966). By the mid-1980s, the evidence suggests that the patterns of provision that had evolved as a result had often become 'fixed'. Cleave and Dust (1989) found that schools already in receipt of local authority tuition were more likely to continue to receive this in the future. In such situations, well-served schools would often resist the transferring of 'their' provision elsewhere, whilst less well-served schools found it difficult to get a 'look in'.

According to Cleave and Dust (1989), most music services had policies to help them make selections between schools where conflicts occurred, yet some administrators admitted that there existed areas of their boroughs which lacked access to provision because these were regarded as 'less enthusiastic' about music. Some schools themselves reported that they would only shortlist 'well behaved' pupils or those who were seen as capable of catching up on classwork missed when withdrawn for instrumental lessons. Such findings resonated with Fletcher's (1987) contemporaneous argument that levels of commitment towards music and instrumental study were likely to differ from school to school and from area to area. Fletcher argued that this commitment was engendered by the prevailing attitude of the

school and those in its catchment area towards the value of music and its study. Her Majesty's Inspectorate agreed, noting in the 1990 *Music from 5 to 16* report that 'much of the success of instrumental work depends on an active partnership between schools and members of the peripatetic service' (quoted in Sharp, 1991: 111).

Sharp (1991) investigated the manner in which schools were selected by music services to receive tuition. In over one third of services questioned, she found that schools were not 'selected' at all but were instead served on the basis of a pupil-based formula or the demand from pupils and parents for lessons (some had only recently adopted this approach in preparation for LMS – see Chapter 3). Beyond this, however, some services selected schools on the basis of 'clustering' primary and secondary schools together to facilitate more effective progression and more efficient peripatetic timetables. In others, historical patterns of provision continued to exert an influence on allocation. This had proved particularly controversial in central London, where arrangements were often still based on operational practices of the old ILEA music service. In 15% of local authorities, consideration was given to the perceived level of support for musical activity within each school. Additionally, some services reported frustration at a lack of ability to redress imbalances in provision due to funding limitations. The profile of schools receiving tuition also changed in some areas in response to the fact that charges were now levied upon them. Thus, as noted in Chapter 3, even before LMS had been widely adopted, Sharp's (1991) work revealed the beginnings of discernible shift in the power relationship between local authority music services and the schools that they served.

In the run up to LMS, many services reported to Sharp that headteachers were beginning to demand a more equitable distribution of resources (Sharp, 1991). This was understandable; individual headteachers were now theoretically in the position of 'customer', free to decide not only the amount of instrumental tuition that their schools required but also who would deliver this. Some music service professionals feared that there might not be much to decide if a headteacher was faced with the choice between funding special needs resourcing or instrumental music provision (Holman-Fox, 1993).

Individual schools, warned Mold, were likely to have their own priorities: 'do you have a leaking roof repaired or do you have violin lessons?' (1992: 27). Unsurprisingly, too, concerns regarding quality assurance were raised by those who feared LMS would inevitably result in PGCE-qualified local authority peripatetic teachers giving way to unqualified private teachers of dubious quality (the so-called 'Mrs Bloggs' or 'man down the road' syndrome) as schools sought to keep costs down (Spencer, 1995; Holman-Fox, 1993)<sup>44</sup>.

Reflecting on the early impact of LMS, Holman-Fox (1993) noted that each school placed its own value on the provision of instrumental music tuition, thus the value of this provision may not be obvious to all. Moreover, individual pupils, parents, teachers, headteachers, local authorities could have different views about the value of instrumental provision. These were likely to have been influenced by oblique factors, such as prior experiences of good or bad instrumental teachers. In some schools, Holman-Fox noted, there was a view that instrumental lessons had no place in the school day, merely serving to 'disrupt' more important, curricular subjects. Yet in others, the attitude could not have been more different:

I could teach the whole curriculum through music – even geography and science. The pupils gain so much from playing their instruments that I ask my staff not to organise any trips out of school on the days that peripatetic teachers are in (Headteacher of a South London Primary School Head, quoted in Holman-Fox, 1993: 86).

Further evidence of schools' varying provision for music was offered by Ofsted, on the basis of inspections made in 1992-93 (cited by Rogers, 1995). The inspectorate found that around one third of schools possessed inadequate stocks of instruments to support performing and composing work. Such a situation was significant since, according to Hallam (1998a), factors such as the availability of particular instruments and associated playing opportunities in schools could influence young people's decision to undertake tuition. A related issue was that schools themselves were often aware that

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<sup>44</sup>Holman-Fox (1993) notes that, as of July 1993, the hourly rate of a PGCE-qualified local authority peripatetic teacher was up to £25 per hour, whereas schools could expect to pay around £15 per hour for the services of a private teacher.

their performance ensembles represented something of a 'shop window' and that they were partially judged by the local community on the quality of instrumental achievement through public performance (Holman-Fox, 1993).

With the Coopers and Lybrand/MORI survey of mid-1993, the early impact of LMS became much clearer. This revealed that despite the theoretical potential for private sector competition, there was no evidence within schools with delegated budgets to suggest that they had replaced local authority teachers with those from the private sector. Private suppliers had not, thus far, been able to offer tuition to rival traditional music service provision. Thus 'the vast bulk of instrumental tuition in maintained primary and secondary schools continues to be provided by LEA music services, LEA business units, or trusts established by LEAs' (Coopers and Lybrand/MORI, 1994: para 213). However, the situation had evolved considerably by the time of the follow-up PRS (1999) survey, conducted in autumn 1998. This had found that one in five schools were not using their delegated money to buy back instrumental tuition from the local music service, a fact that put additional financial pressure on some services (Rogers and Hallam, 2010). By that point, music services were providing only around 50% of instrumental tuition in schools nationally. In counties and in secondary schools, PRS researchers found that the main providers were still local authority music services. In London boroughs, in unitary authorities, and across the primary sector, the main providers of instrumental tuition were now private teachers. Only a 'small fraction' of tuition was provided by private companies (with slightly more in primary than secondary).

Coopers and Lybrand/MORI (1994) found that schools were growing accustomed to their new status as 'customer' and were now even more confidently asserting their expectations and requirements regarding the instrumental tuition opportunities offered to their pupils. Local authorities had responded, and now professed far more awareness of what schools wanted and were entitled to expect. In addition, there was evidence of authorities acting to remove teachers perceived to be 'weaker' or 'unreliable'.

The Coopers and Lybrand/MORI (1994) study also suggested that, where funds were delegated on the basis of a per-pupil formula, this could 'iron out'

historical imbalances in music service provision. Whilst problems could occur when schools accustomed to above-average levels of provision had this reduced, schools which had traditionally been absent from peripatetic timetables now had funding to purchase tuition as they wished. Some authorities had sought to redress historical imbalances in advance of the introduction of LMS. In Wolverhampton, the belief was that this process had resulted in a more socio-economically equitable division of provision:

The service was vulnerable to the charge that too many resources went to the leafy suburbs. Now schools on the other side of the tracks are getting the money due to them. Provision there is expanding. The challenge is to control the change (Robert Bunting, coordinator of music support team, Wolverhampton, quoted in Ward (1993: 6).

These various perspectives perhaps serve to underline that, as a determinate of instrumental tuition provision, the culture of the individual school remained just as critical after the introduction of LMS as it was before. Before LMS, there is evidence of 'cosy' conventions and relationships between schools and services, based on perceptions of the value of music and of traditional cultures of instrumental activity within schools. After the introduction of LMS, these might be replaced with more explicit policies but, faced with many competing priorities for delegated funds, heads were likely to make pragmatic decision with regard to music. In turn, these continued to be influenced by their own beliefs about its place in the life of the school. Thus, LMS brought these differing attitudes towards music into sharp relief and compelled some heads to 'put their money where their mouth was' with regard to instrumental tuition. The clearest example of this is that whilst some schools absorbed all costs, others passed them on to parents in full and used their delegated funding for something else.

The 'elephant in the room' is perhaps the extent to which the non-selective state school sector has ever been able match the expenditure and emphasis historically placed on music within independent schools. Research undertaken as part of the *Training Musicians* inquiry into the educational backgrounds of students then studying at five English conservatoires found that have over half were from independent or grammar schools (Calouste Gulbenkian, 1978). A quarter of a century later, almost identical findings were

reported by the Musicians' Union (cited in Arnot, 2004). A contemporaneous survey by the ABRSM (2006) suggested one underlying reason for this difference. It found that, amongst the 101 independent schools questioned, the average percentage of pupils who received instrumental lessons was 50%. As noted in figure 5.1, Hallam *et al* (2005) put the equivalent figure for state pupils at the same time as 8.4%.

### **Ethnic/cultural background of pupil**

Steel pan bands first appeared within inner London schools from 1969 under the leadership of Gerald Forsyth, Special Instrument Organiser for the ILEA (McCalman, 2003). This was in line with the authority's policy to support ethnic minority cultures in areas with high numbers of young people from these backgrounds. The ILEA's view was that:

African Caribbean children with low levels of academic achievement would perform better if parts of the curriculum reflected their cultural background. Also, it was believed that providing non-academic black children with steel pan music lessons could solve the notion of challenge and support in relation to the black community and the education system—and the delicate relationships between teachers and black pupils in schools (McCalman, 2003: 43).

Such a philosophy clearly resonated with the change in policy within the ILEA that had followed the arrival of John Stephens as new staff inspector for music from 1976 (Adams, 2002). These initial developments led to recruitment of a team of pan tutors and, later, the founding of the London Schools Steel Orchestra around 1980 (Adams, 2002). These initiatives were quickly mirrored by authorities in other inner city areas with large Caribbean communities (McCalman, 2003). In some cases, African Caribbean music also became a feature of curriculum lessons in these areas from this time (Paynter, 1982).

By the early 1980s, a growing awareness of equal opportunities within education meant that music services more generally were beginning to catch up with the ILEA. At a policy level, the findings of two key high profile reports were deemed by Cleave and Dust (1989) to have been particularly influential. The 1985 *Attenborough Report* identified a perceived lack of local authority support for arts provision in special schools. For instance, it was suggested

that pupils in special schools had restricted access to stocks of music service instruments. The 1985 *Swann Report* was concerned with the education of children from ethnic minority groups and noted that financial cutbacks in subjects such as music could have a disproportionate effect on pupils from these groups. Both documents were important catalysts for change, promoting the idea that education should be for all children in a culturally diverse context (Cleave and Dust, 1989). As a result, from this period onwards, there is evidence of a growing (if rarely fully realised) commitment to include instrumental provision on non-Western instruments and to increase tuition within special schools. Related developments included increased local authority investment within the areas of popular music (Thomson, 1989a) and music technology (Cleave and Dust, 1989). Interestingly, Fletcher (1987) pointed out that the charge of elitism remained as pertinent to pop, rock and world music as it did to classical music, refuting arguments made at the time that ensembles in the former styles were naturally more inclusive. The young performers in these groups, he argued deserved just as much in-depth support in the form of specialist lessons.

Cleave and Dust (1989) offer a detailed snapshot of this provision as it stood in 1985-86. 5% of authorities had staff responsible for non-Western music. Most significantly, despite financial constraints, no music service reported staff reductions in the area of non-Western music and three services reported increased FTEs in this area between 1983/84 and 1985/86. In one authority, a six-strong team had formed a 'multicultural unit', delivering tuition on steel pans, African drums, balalaika, tabla and sitar. Instrumental lessons were offered throughout this authority, complemented by school-based curriculum projects and six-week taster courses. Reflecting cultural traditions in their local areas, some authorities reported providing tuition on Western folk instruments and whilst others reported a desire to offer Chinese instruments. Nonetheless, African Caribbean and Asian musics remained amongst the most commonly-supported traditions (Thomson, 1989a). Overall, however, provision in these areas remained nationally very low and often relied on the involvement of suitably experienced and willing parents, causing Cleave and Dust to lament:



although some non-Western instruments are used in class-based music in some areas, opportunities for learning to play them through the instrumental service were found to be few and far between. Steel pans were twice as likely to be taught as instruments of Asian origin: sitar, tabla and harmonium tuition occurred on a small scale in seven responding authorities in England (1989: 43).

A solution to a lack of practical opportunity in some authorities was to attempt to embrace a 'multicultural approach', even where non-Western instruments were not taught directly. For instance, there was encouragement to broaden performance repertoire to include material from different cultures. This was seen as preferable in some cases as it got around perceived concerns about introducing pupils to 'different scales and tonalities that could be difficult for 'Western' ears' (anonymous music adviser, quoted in Cleave and Dust, 1989: 44). Nonetheless, other authorities did not share this view and could not see a purpose in widening the cultural breadth of their provision. One respondent to Cleave and Dust questioned the need for this since the population being served was 'all-white Caucasian' (quoted in Cleave and Dust, 1989: 53). As such, one is forced to agree with Evans (2011) that, despite a growing awareness of popular and non-western music at this time, the majority of instrumental teaching remained focused on Western classical instruments. A decade later, there had been some changes. Schools reported to the PRS (1999) survey that they were able to offer a wider range of instruments to pupils. In particular, electric instruments and voice had seen considerable increases since 1993. In contrast, only 6% of schools reported being able to offer non-Western instruments.

Cleave and Dust (1989) found the situation pertaining to Special Schools to be slightly more positive. 35% of music services were found to be providing musical input within local special schools while eight employed a member of staff with SEND responsibilities. However, it was more likely that provision was focused on workshops, concerts and shorter-term projects than traditional models of one-to-one or small group instrumental tuition. Participants in the research often noted that particular skills were required of staff sent to special schools: 'you have to know when to push the children and when not to in order to avoid frustrating them. It can take six months for some of them to play two notes' (quoted in Cleave and Dust, 1989: 60).

## Summary

The second of this study’s research questions was:

What ‘hidden’ barriers have existed to limit young people’s access to local authority music service instrumental tuition?

On the basis of the sources reviewed above, there is evidence to support the view that, historically at least, access to local authority instrumental tuition was not solely related to a young person’s desire to engage with practical music making. The phrase ‘hidden selection’, coined by both Farmer (1979) and Cleave and Dust (1989), appropriately describes a series of subtle barriers which proved difficult to overcome for the many reasons discussed. Yet whilst these barriers were listed as a series of discrete bullet points at the opening of this chapter, the central conclusion that must be drawn from the ensuing discussion is that that they are, in fact, highly interrelated and linked to broader, historically-durable notions of socio-economic status and advantage/disadvantage. Such pronounced interrelationships are brought into sharp focus through the lens of social praxeology, which involves ‘acknowledging and revealing inter- and infra-generational power relations that accrue due to different endowments with capital’ (Erger and Wood, 2015: 396).

For Bourdieu, the concept of ‘field’ is closely related to that of ‘game’, which he uses to describe the way that actors navigate a field from particular starting ‘positions’, following a complex series of largely unwritten, unacknowledged ‘rules’ (Everett, 2002). Significantly, however:

the contestants engaging in these games are rarely on an equal footing with each other, some being far better positioned than others. Some players, for instance, start with the advantage of having been dealt certain ‘trump cards’, in the form of specific types of economic capital. Others have a better *feel for the game* either because of their upbringing or because of other experiences linked to their social positions (Prasad, 2005: 199).

The corollary is that in a social ‘game’ like the seeking out and sustaining of music service tuition, some young people and their parents are likely to find their ‘moves’ *limited* due to their capital endowments whilst others are likely to find their moves *enabled* (Ergler and Wood, 2015). Those whose moves are successful are subsequently able to use the gains made to reposition

themselves once more, maximising the cultural capital that this tuition can help to accumulate.

The application earlier in this Chapter of Lareau's twin concepts of 'concerted cultivation' and a middle class 'sense of entitlement' provides a clue as to the *motives* behind this kind of game-play. Bourdieu (1973) argues that in sections of society where the accrual of cultural capital is prioritised, there is already likely to be a strong awareness of arts and culture. This is unsurprising, since:

the different sections must tend to invest the capital which they may transmit in the market that is capable of guaranteeing for it the best yield... Those sections which are richest in cultural capital are more inclined to invest in their children's education at the same time as in cultural practices liable to maintain and increase their specific rarity' (Bourdieu, 1977: 502, quoted in Everett, 2002: 64).

Fundamentally, Bourdieu observes, people tend to not only try to maximise the forms of capital they have already accrued, they also try to maintain the systems of reproduction most likely to support this form of capital (Everett, 2002). Therefore, social praxeology calls for the researcher to also pay particularly close attention to the ways in which individuals 'strategise' the games in which they find themselves involved (Prasad, 2005). Here, then, we must also attempt to account for the *means* by which these hidden selection criteria might be overcome, as long as parents and young people are sufficiently privileged and adept players of the 'game'.

Taking their impetus from Bourdieu, Parcel and Hendrix (2014) conducted a wide-ranging review of the research literature dealing with the familial transmission of social and cultural capital as a means of social reproduction. They highlight several observable manifestations of his theory with particular pertinence to world of instrumental tuition. Specifically, the concept of the 'parental investment framework' describes a complex coherence of financial, social and cultural resources through which parents can actively prepare their children to 'navigate institutional settings, to be perceived favourably by teachers, and to see their own place in the status hierarchy as privileged' (2014: 363). In practical terms, these kinds of investments can result in

‘resource boosters’, defined as ‘favourable conditions both at home and at school’ (Parcel and Dufur, 2001: 888). Through the application of appropriate forms of ‘parental investment’, it seems possible that each of the hidden barriers explored in this chapter might be overcome with one or more resource boosters.

Most obviously, propitious levels of economic capital can rapidly ameliorate challenges associated with paying fees for tuition, instrument hire and other costs. Even in situations where a family is not by any means ‘affluent’, a belief in the inherent value of instrumental tuition as a means of conferring cultural capital may result in some families being more prepared than others to concentrate limited financial resources in this area. Since people inevitably ‘valorize the species of capital that they preferentially possess or support’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 99), such families may well attempt to ‘find the money’<sup>45</sup>.

Subsequently, economic capital is also used to ‘back up’ further resources boosters such as transportation in family vehicles. Not only must an appropriately-sized vehicle be available, but that there must also be money for fuel. Moreover, lifts must be given around work commitments (alternatively money for public transport or taxis may be required) and consideration must also be given to sibling childcare commitments (which again may involve financial outlay). Investments such as these may in turn be able to neatly sidestep problems created by instrument size or weight and distances to teaching/rehearsal sites. For families in which the availability of such resource boosters has become an unconscious component of habitus, this kind of daily, small-scale economic outlay may not even be recognised as such, as in the case of the mother in Lareau’s study who undertook a long drive for her son’s 0815 instrumental lesson each Saturday. ‘From a narrowly economic standpoint’, Bourdieu might argue, ‘this effort is bound to be pure wastage, but in the terms of the logic of economic exchanges, it is solid

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<sup>45</sup> An interesting aspect of this analysis is that in some respects, being prepared to pay for instrumental tuition is the opposite to other forms of ‘financial resource boosters’. Philpott (2001) makes the point that whilst some parents choose to pay for extra tuition in some subjects (e.g. for a home maths tutor), it is more likely that this tuition will focus on the children who find these subjects challenging (and whose parents can afford to pay) and not those who are perceived as the ablest, as may be the case with instrumental music lessons.

investment, the profit of which will appear, in the long run, in monetary and other form' (Bourdieu, 1986: 253, quoted in Pilario, 2006: 147).

Exploiting existing familial stocks of social and cultural capital may also be key to the amelioration of hidden barriers relating to professional perceptions and realities about pupils' home life, ethnic/cultural background and environment. Earlier in the Chapter we reviewed Lareau's argument that children from middle class backgrounds are more likely to have become adept at expressing their desires in a manner consistent with socially-dominant discourse. With higher levels of linguistic capital, they may find that they are better able than others to negotiate the specialist, or 'elaborated codes' of instrumental music teachers. Conversely, children from marginalised groups may have not had opportunities to accrue this capital: 'in accepting the state of 'other' they have little self-definition, and the game is stacked' (Deetz, 2006: 192, quoted in Everett, 2002: 68). Moreover, useful stocks of social capital may have also been accrued via family transmission. Perhaps an older sibling or parent has already been through the 'system', leading to shared social networks of teachers and musician friends. Similarly, perhaps attendance at events invested in cultural capital such as concerts has given them a better 'feel' for what discourse with such professionals might involve. Habitus, notes Prasad, 'is the sum of one's cultural inheritances interacting with one's personal experiences' (2005: 201). Furthermore, she argues, 'estimations of [individuals] own life changes in social space are strongly mediated by their class positions' (ibid.). The absence of some or all elements of this complex coherence of factors may, over time, lead to some children and their parents to conclude, apparently voluntarily, that instrumental tuition might 'not be for them'. However, for others, their habitus means that there is no real decision to make and it is 'taken as read' that these opportunities are available to them, should they wish to benefit from them. For Bourdieu, they have been 'born into the historically determined social game' (Pilario, 2006: 124).

Parcel and Hendrix (2014) note that parents can also boost their children's social and cultural capital by their decision of where to live, since 'they are often simultaneously choosing the schools their children will attend' (p. 374).

They point out that the literature consistently suggests that these motivations are also likely to result in areas of increased social and ethnic homogeneity. Recalling the earlier discussion of school culture, again it seems that extensive musical activity is a key means by which some schools advertise the level of cultural capital they are able to invest in their pupils. This in turn may be converted to institutional capital through the accumulation of qualifications for pupils and league table superiority for the institutions (what Bourdieu refers to as the 'performative magic of the power of instituting' and 'social alchemy and ritual' (1986: 248, quoted in Everett, 2002: 63)). Therefore, it may be that we can extend the notion of 'investment' to cover school leaders as well as parents. Since LMS, head teachers have been able to make increasingly autonomous decisions regarding how they will spend their budgets. Recalling Parcel and Dufur's definition of resource boosters as favourable conditions both at home *and* school, it may be that a synergy of propitious attitudes towards instrumental musical engagement at home *and* at school is a form of 'super-booster', and that children best placed to conform to both sets of attitudes are also those best able to overcome the barriers highlighted within this chapter.

Significantly, Parcel and Hendrix's assert that, 'if resource boosters are pervasive, inequality increases' (2014: 364). Taken together, Chapters 3 and 4 have offered evidence that, over time, these kinds of resource boosters may have inadvertently become institutionalised, or at least tacitly accepted, within the evolution of music service instrumental teaching culture as a whole. It is possible that the habitus of some staff, pupils and their families had evolved to accommodate and respond to their presence, albeit unconsciously. In Bourdieusian terms, the state of affairs had become 'doxic' since it was 'perceived not as arbitrary, that is, as one possible order among others, but as a self-evident and natural order' (Bourdieu, 1977: 166, quoted in Everett, 2002: 66). As explored in more detail in Chapter 6, one potential corollary is that, for those who adopted the halcyon view prevalent in the 1990s, these kinds of resource boosters may have become inscribed as a series of unwritten, unacknowledged 'rules of the game' within the music service field over the decades.

In a doxic society, writes Prasad, there is an 'absence of questions (in the public and private spheres) about the socioeconomic structure and an overpowering silence about social injustices.' (2005: 202). In this case, it seems that it was only with the tumult and uncertainty created following the introduction of LMS that the salience of many of these issues began to be recognised by the establishment. Returning to a theme from Chapter 2, this era witnessed significant 'colonisation' within the hitherto 'restricted field' of music service instrumental tuition in response to the imposition of market values, greater accountability and political emphasis on equality of opportunity. Subsequently, further colonisation would occur in the era of the MSF.

As was noted in Chapter 1, a central tenet of social praxeology is that facts and values are intrinsically joined. It will be recalled that statistical analysis of relevant quantitative data is one means by which an evaluation of this fusion can be made. On the other hand, and as highlighted in Chapter 2, 'values' are by definition amorphous and difficult to quantify. The solution to this apparent mismatch is to carefully select relevant quantitative data to act as 'proxy variables'. Proceeding on this basis, Phase 2 will present three regression models which seek to evaluate the influence of the observed social factors in quantitative terms. In the first of these, assessments of cultural capital are made through reference to proxy data on educational attainment and the local culture, media and sports workforce. Social and economic capital are quantified using data on socio-economic classification and income deprivation. Assessments of the presence of 'resource boosters' are made through data on vehicle ownership (model 1) and school culture and academic performance (model 3). The extent to which resource boosters such as these are able to ameliorate hidden barriers relating to instrument size and weight, and home-school distance is considered through model 2.

#### *A personal reflection on the hidden barriers*

On a personal level, I feel that my early experiences as an instrumental learner not only highlight the complex and tightly interrelated nature of some these hidden barriers, but also the way in which a family might draw upon different forms of capital to overcome these via resource boosters.

In economic terms, our family was far removed from the definitions of 'middle class' given by Power *et al* (2003). Yet it is perfectly feasible, notes Everett, for the distribution of economic capital to be 'symmetric and opposite' to the distribution of cultural capital (2002: 64). As noted in Chapter 2, my father's position as a professional musician meant that there was always music around the house in my infancy, and that I had opportunities to 'sit in' during band rehearsals. Perhaps unsurprisingly, this strong level of embodied cultural capital resulted in my passing a Bentley Test at the age of seven. As a result, I very much feel that I am living proof of McPherson and Hallam's (2009) argument, summarised earlier in this chapter. Passing this test entitled me to free instrumental tuition with my local music service, also adding credence to Farmer's (1979) assertion that early musical 'investment' might facilitate propitious access to instrumental opportunity later. By the time I began clarinet lessons the following year, there was no family access to a vehicle. Yet along with free tuition had come the offer of fully-subsidised taxi and coach travel to local music centres for tuition and ensemble rehearsal. Entrance fees to instrumental exams were similarly covered by the local authority and my first instrument was bought via the music service's hire-purchase instalment plan. Given the family's lack of economic capital at this time, it is unlikely that these various transportation and financial barriers to engaging with tuition would have been otherwise surmountable.

Having moved on from music service to private tuition and a variety of community-based ensembles, there was a need to for me navigate an enlarged social/musical field. Here again, I was supported by greater-than-average levels of relevant social capital, since my father's local reputation and presence in professional networks meant there was often common ground with the musicians and teachers with whom I worked. Moreover, my early familial exposure ensured strong levels of musical linguistic capital. Thus, by the time I reached my teenage years my habitus as a musician was taking shape: I was learning how to 'walk the walk' and 'talk the talk' of music. Financially, private tuition fees were only manageable thanks to the generosity of extended family members who wanted to ensure I got access to these opportunities. Thus again, I feel lucky to have gained from a strong



family awareness and sense of value towards music and the arts. Public transport costs needed to be covered to reach these tuition and ensemble opportunities.

It is also important to acknowledge the influence of my secondary school within my own musical development. A secondary modern, it rather bucked the trend outlined in Chapter 3 in that music flourished thanks to the energetic efforts of a small number of staff. I was able to take advantage of strong traditions of ensembles and performances, not to mention being allowed to borrow considerable amounts of valuable recording equipment each vacation. Again, the sense of trust and community that these experiences engendered made an important contribution to my developing habitus.

Whilst we ceased music service tuition before the coming of LMS, my brother and I continued to access local authority ensembles and performance opportunities. As noted earlier in the chapter, around this time, concerns had been raised that the financial viability of any local youth ensembles was in doubt. In retrospect, it is likely that we were guilty of accessing these without paying the associated fees, since our teachers at the time worked both privately and for the music services. Our teachers had become adept at 'playing the game' successfully in this respect and we benefitted as a result.

## Chapter 5 – New Labour and the Music Standards Fund

### Introduction

It is estimated that between thirty and fifty music local authority music services closed down during 1980s and 1990s due to the impact of various rounds of public spending cuts (Ridgeway, 2002; Annetts, 2010). The rate of closures became more rapid following the introduction of LMS in the early 1990s (Arnot, 2004), even if—as argued in Chapter 3—these did not result in an overall reduction in the numbers of young people receiving music service tuition. Nonetheless, there remained very strong, well-placed perceptions that the decline in music service provision throughout the decade would continue unless addressed (Rogers and Hallam, 2010). The overriding concern was that with no ring-fenced budgets for the provision of instrumental tuition, 'any funding for music, therefore, could be—and was—spent in other areas' (Woodworth, 2006: 9).

The Labour election in May 1997 was seen by many in the arts world as a sign that the fortunes of the arts and of arts education would change. Incoming Culture Secretary Chris Smith was regarded as a very sympathetic figure with close links to many in the arts world (Tusa, 2014). Soon after entering office, Smith outlined four 'cardinal principles' that would 'underpin the new government's commitment to nurture and support artistic and creative activity' (Smith, 1998: 43):

The first – and perhaps the most important – is that the arts are for everyone. Things of quality must be available to the many, not just to the few. Cultural activity is not some elitist exercise that takes place in reverential temples aimed at the predilections of the cognoscenti. The opportunity to create and to enjoy must be enjoyed by all. Enjoyment of the arts – be it of Jarvis Cocker or of Jessye Norman, or Anthony Gormley or Anthony Hopkins – crosses all social and geographical boundaries. The arts fire the imagination and inspire the intelligence; there can be no artificial barriers erected to prevent or discourage access to those experiences...

Second principle: I want to see the arts becoming much more a part of our everyday lives...

Third principle: the enormous economic importance of the creative sectors...

Fourth principle: we need to ensure that the arts and creativity are made an integral part of our education service, above all for young people, but throughout the whole of life as well. Our education needs to teach us to reason and to question and to analyse, but it needs to teach us to wonder too. And the arts are central to this (Smith, 1998: 43-46).

The subsequent joint decision by Smith and Secretary of State for Education David Blunkett to launch the National Advisory Committee on Creative and Cultural Education (NACCCE) in February 1998 was hard evidence that educational and cultural policy was beginning to coalesce on the basis of these principles (Finney, 2011). Looking back, commentators have described the post-election period as filled with the heady spirit of 'Cool Britannia', characterised by a 'cultural turn' (Buckingham and Jones, 2001) and 'cultural millennialism' (Finney, 2011). Over time, there would be a coming together of thinking on education and cultural policy, social inclusion and economic support for the creative industries (Campbell *et al*, 2007), a quest, as Finney puts, it for a 'civic, moral and cultural re-ordering' (2011: 121). Speeches by culture and education ministers at this time tended to be infused with aspirational phrases such as 'full potential', 'talent', 'inclusion', 'creativity', 'diversity', 'standards' (and the raising of them), 'continual improvement' and 'global competitiveness'. According to Finney (2011), this rhetoric was intended to stress the importance of self-expression and individuality tempered with economic need. Writing at the end of the first Labour term, Buckingham summed up this way of thinking thus:

Through a range of... policy and funding initiatives, the government has sought to equalise access to cultural goods, to stimulate the growth of the cultural industries, and to maximize the social benefits of creative participation in the arts, particularly for disadvantaged, or 'socially excluded' young people (Buckingham, 2003: 94).

With regard to local authority music services, it was clear, according to Andrew Potter of the PRS, that Chris Smith 'wished to help remedy the situation' (PRS, 1999: 1.1). One of the Secretary of State's first goals was to work with organisations such as the PRS and the ABRSM to create what would become the Lottery-funded 'Youth Music Trust' (later 'Youth Music') (Smith, 1998). Launched in June 1998, this was the new government's first practical demonstration of support for music education. £10million was made

available to schools and local authorities to support instrumental music tuition (Lister, 1998). Whilst in national terms, this amount was small, the wording of Smith's announcement of the initiative clearly reflected this new ethos. It set the tone for subsequent ministerial announcements on music education:

In many parts of the country, if your parents don't have very much money it's very difficult to get access to musical instrument tuition. My long-term aim is to ensure that any young person anywhere in the country who wants to play a musical instrument will have the opportunity to do so (quoted in Lister, 1998: 10).

Richard Hickman of the FMS agreed with Smith's analysis of the situation, blaming an uneven financial environment in which local authority support for music services ranged nationally from between nothing to £1million per year. As a result, he argued, 'children in some areas are losing out' (quoted in Roper and Randles, 2000: 56). So concerned was Hickman following a survey of his members' budgets that he wrote to David Blunkett:

From a recent questionnaire to members of the Federation of Music Services, the following information emerged in respect of reduced public funding, excluding any loss through delegation of Music Service budgets to schools. The aggregate loss of funding was:

1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98
£1,466,000	£1,554,000	£926,000	£1,875,000

Bearing in mind the number of responses represents well under 50% of Local Education Authorities, it seems likely that over the last four years, the loss of public funding to LEA Music Services has grown to well in excess of £10,000,000 per annum (quoted in Ridgeway, 2002: 304).

In total, the FMS had calculated that the amount spent by local authorities on music services had declined from £100million in 1990 to £30million in May 1998 (Sutcliffe and Spencer, 1998). These findings had come shortly after the ABRSM (1997) had published its third *Making Music* report, which suggested that nationally, the number of young people playing instruments had declined by 4% between 1993 and 1996.

Clearly sensing that developments with the Department of Culture, Media and Sport's (DCMS) Lottery funding might lead to a more substantial show of support, the Government was subjected to an 'intensive period of campaigning' (Morris, 2005: para. 4). Simon Rattle led the charge, with a

high profile documentary *Don't Stop the Music* broadcast on Channel 4 in September 1998 (Rattle, 1998). This was quickly followed by muscular contributions to the debate by illustrious organisations such as the NMC, NAME, ABRSM, NFMY, and the FMS (Ridgeway, 2002; Baker, 2005). Already mobilised following concerns over the status of music as a statutory component of the primary curriculum (see Campaign for Music in the Curriculum, 1998), this collective now sought to ensure that the government recognised the apparent plight of the remaining music services. The key campaign messages were two-fold:

first that the process of learning to play a musical instrument (including the voice) has immense general educational value and should be accessible to all young people; and secondly that, unlike other subjects taught in school, instrumental tuition, if it is to be effective, needs to be organised at a level above that of the individual school (Morris, 2005: para. 5).

According to Cox (2010) and Finney (2011), it was the campaign's stress on the 'extrinsic' value of music that was most influential on a new government, eager to demonstrate its commitment not only to educational standards in numeracy and literacy, but also to greater levels of social inclusion and the emerging cultural industries. If music could help meet these objectives, then all the better. Evidence for extrinsic economic, social and personal benefits of musical engagement was emerging thick and fast throughout this period, much of it produced by prominent organisations and individuals. This was seized upon by campaigners. The NMC's *Value of Music* Report, published in November 1996, offered strong evidence of the significant employment and economic benefits of music. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation's *Joining In* report followed in September 1997, whilst the Campaign for Music in the Curriculum's *The Fourth 'R'* appeared in February 1998. Both summarised the international research on music and brain development, highlighting the perceived potential for 'transfer' to other areas. They were subsequently joined by *A Sound Performance*, a further economic analysis from the NMC in February 1999 and the NACCCE's own *All Our Futures* four months later.

With the media attending to music's social, economic and personal potential as never before, and with the campaign to secure its place in the education system well under way, there was great potential for confusion. It was common for newspaper reports of this era to shroud the detail of curricular,

extra-curricular and peripatetic music teaching with ambiguous references to 'school music'. Politicians themselves were not immune from this confusion. 'In common with other non-musicians', notes Stunell, 'they share a perception that to be musical is to be able to play an instrument or sing well' (2006: 14)<sup>46</sup>. Recalling this period, a former editor of *Music Teacher* magazine described trying to:

explain to a minister how instrumental, ensemble, curriculum and extended-curriculum were separate (but connected) and different (but complementary), and sympathising as their expression gradually became not less but more puzzled (Jenkins, 2004: 5).

'This double life of music education', concluded Philpott, 'is both its glory and Achilles' heel' (2001: 158). Yet perhaps it had a positive influence on this occasion since the manner in which these separate standards of music education had coalesced in the minds of the key protagonists may have resulted in enough collective 'heat and light' to compel the government to act.

In any case, the significant support for music services garnered amongst politicians, musicians and media commentators meant that collectively 'these messages hit the target and the government response was significant' (Morris, 2005: para. 5). Ministers were variously described as having either 'listened to the warnings' (Warnock, 2006:29) or been 'shamed' into acting (Morrison, 2001: 7). David Blunkett responded to the campaign during an interview in the TES on 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1998, for the first time articulating a political ambition which would come to define much of the next ten years of English music education policy. Citing the importance of music in his own life, along with the range of extrinsic benefits it offered, he argued that 'every child should get the opportunity to learn an instrument' (p.13). He added:

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<sup>46</sup> Stunell (2006) highlights the confusion in the press surrounding the initial plans for the MSF. Blunkett himself described it in his diary as 'a new fund for reinvigorating music tuition *in schools* and the purchase of instruments' (2006: 110, emphasis added).

The Government is determined to protect music's place in our education service... We are considering ways to ring-fence money for local music services through the standards fund. We will support existing services and introduce greater equity of provision across the country. If this measure is introduced, it will make sure that money intended for music lessons is spent on them. It will remove the temptation for the money to be spent on other services (Blunkett, 1998: 13).

One week after this interview, the DfEE published its 'Fair Funding' consultation document on further, compulsory delegation of school funding (Rogers and Hallam, 2010). Blunkett's ambitions for music education were clearly in evidence. In a bid to allay fears that this additional delegation would weaken authority-wide provision still further, Ministers sought to give assurances that they recognised the vulnerability of music services and that their funding would remain 'a special case' (Judd, 1997; Wright, 2013). The full text of the relevant section of the Fair Funding document can be found in Appendix 1.

Traditionally, central government funding for school-level education in England had been allocated by funding formula and distributed to local authorities via the 'Revenue Support Grant'. However, the Labour Government's Education Standards Fund was established to channel additional funding directly to schools and local authorities to support its particular policy objectives and targets (O'Leary, 2001; West and Pennell, 2002)<sup>47</sup>. Blunkett regarded the Standards Fund as existing 'specifically to put money into deprived areas and to projects which would never have otherwise got off the ground' (2006: 656-657). The extension of this programme to cover music services was highly significant, marking the first time that central government funding had ever been ring-fenced and channelled directly to Music Services in England (M2 Communications, 2000; Woodworth, 2006)<sup>48</sup>.

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47 The Standards Fund replaced the former 'Grants for Education and Training' programme, introduced following the 1984 Education (Grants and Awards) Act (DfEE, 1999; Ridgeway, 2002).

48 The idea of central funding for music services was not new. Several respondents to Sharp's (1991) survey had suggested a very similar funding programme. Moreover, the review of music services conducted by Coopers & Lybrand/MORI in 1994 concluded that there was a case for national support from Central Government (along with industry) to 'ensure the maintenance of activities which provide progression to the national level and professional music careers' (1994: para 19).

## The development of the MSF

A joint initiative between the Departments of Education and Culture (DCMS, 2001), the Music Standards Fund was launched by the respective Secretaries of State on January 27<sup>th</sup> 1999 (Woolf, 1999). Making the announcement, Blunkett commented, 'years of underfunding have left some children without access to musical instruments, or the tuition they so desperately need to develop their talents' (Smithers, 1999: 12), whilst Chris Smith added that the Government sought to 'arrest the decline in music services' (ibid.).

Leaving aside the political rhetoric and wider policy motivations, three practical intentions for the establishment of the Music Standards Fund can be identified (Davies and Stephens, 2006). Unsurprisingly, the first and most urgent of these was the need to halt the perceived continuing decline in music service provision. A second, related intention was to 'provide a period of financial stability' (Davies and Stephens, 2006: 7). The introduction of the MSF marked, according to Richard Morris<sup>49</sup>, the Government's apparent recognition that 'no individual school can employ its own French horn teacher' (quoted in Woodward, 2000: 1). Thus, the MSF was intended to support (and, where necessary, re-introduce) coherent, progressive local authority-wide strategy and infrastructure in the form of youth ensembles, minority instrument support, NFMY performances, instrument loan 'banks', staff training and quality assurance (Morris, 2005; Annetts, 2010; Hallam; 2012). The third intention identified by Davies and Stephens (2006) was to promote new developments in the provision of instrumental music making and tuition, with particular emphasis on equality of access and the number of young people who could benefit.

It was not long before this third aim came to encompass the other two, closely reflecting the broader New Labour policy motivations outlined above. By October 2000, education minister Jacqui Smith was arguing:

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49 Morris was also serving as the chairman of the Music Education Council at the time when the Standards Fund was originally introduced. According to Wright (2013) he was involved in discussions with Government regarding its introduction following the Fair Funding consultation.



more needs to be done to make music accessible for all children whatever their background... Before the Music Standards Fund was set up in 1999, LEA Music Services were in severe decline and some had disappeared altogether... Children from deprived backgrounds have no chance of learning to play an instrument because there was no money to help pay for their tuition (quoted in M2 Communications, 2000, paras. 5-7).

By March 2001, the DfES was stating that the MSF was intended to ensure 'that every LEA in the country can offer children the chance to learn to play musical instruments' (DCMS, 2001: 64). Ultimately, the various initial motivations would become unified within David Blunkett's famous pledge, formerly and fully articulated in the September 2001 White Paper, that, 'over time, all primary pupils who want to will be able to learn a musical instrument' (DfES, 2001a: 12). Things had clearly come a long way from initial descriptions of the fund as a 'stop-gap' or 'emergency' measure (e.g. NACCCE, 1999; Morris, 2000; Arnot, 2004). Instead, given fresh impetus by the pledge, the MSF was to become the bedrock for a whole new raft of policy initiatives under the banners of the Music Manifesto and WO. Over the course of the twelve-year life of the programme, more than three-quarters of a billion pounds of national government and match-local government funding would be distributed to music services in England.

### **The implementation of the MSF**

The details of the MSF were outlined in 'Supplement to Circular 13/98', distributed to local authorities between October 1998 and January 1999<sup>50</sup>. The associated public announcement confirmed that a total of £150million was being made available by the DfEE to fund these grants over a three-year period (NACCCE, 1999; DCMS, 2000)<sup>51</sup>. Two grants were available: 27a

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<sup>50</sup>The lack of inclusion of the two grants in the original Standards Fund allocations for 1999-2000 in October 1999 supports the view that it was a relatively late decision during 1998. The final inclusion of the Fund was described by Phil Willis, Liberal Democrat Shadow Education and Skills Secretary as 'a late addition to the list'. (Seventh Standing Committee on Delegated Legislation, 1999: para. 20). Consequently, the window of time in which music services had to prepare their applications was acknowledged by DfES (1998b) as being very short.

<sup>51</sup>Many Government announcements and subsequent news reports relating to the establishment of the MSF make reference to a total figure of £180million. However, this total figure included £30million of National Lottery money already allocated (as three annual grants of £10million) for local music projects by the DCMS and distributed via the recently-established National Youth Music Trust (later known as 'Youth Music') (NACCCE, 1999; Woolf 1999; DCMS, 2000). Since the MSF was promoted as a joint initiative between the DfEE and the DMCS, it was presumably regarded as important that funding was seen to be made available from both departments. Whilst Youth Music's

'Protecting Local Authority Music Services'<sup>52</sup> and 27b 'Expanding Local Authority Music Services'. Both were for retention by local authorities in order to 'fund a central music service' (DfEE, 1998a: Sections 27a and 27b). A range of factors would be considered in the allocation of funds. With regard to 27a, consideration was to be given to:

- the number of young people benefiting from funded provision;
- the extent to which the bid improves equality of access to music services;
- the extent to which the quality of existing provision is enhanced

(DfEE, 1998a: Section 27a).

Grant 27a was to be worth £30million in the first year (Hallam and Prince, 2000) and offered ring-fenced financial support at 100% to local authorities (DfEE, 1998a). In order to recognise the commitment of those authorities which had continued to allocate local resources to music in the period preceding the establishment of the fund, Grant 27a allocations were to be based on the amounts retained for music service provision in section 122 of authorities' provisional schools budget for 1998-99 (Smithers, 1999; Ridgeway, 2002; Chapman, 2009). Unfortunately, however, this meant that local authorities whose music service funding was recorded in another budget section could not claim MSF money against this<sup>53</sup>. As a result, the amounts awarded to different, even neighbouring, authorities varied enormously. This was subsequently a source of great resentment and frustration for many services (e.g. see Collins (2000) for an account of the inequities between Birmingham and Dudley), and of rejoicing for others

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remit was to promote music making opportunities outside school and the National Curriculum, the DCMS indicated that this money could be used for the 'improvement of music services' (NACCCE, 1999: 163) through the funding of new instruments (Smithers, 1999) and after school clubs, for instance (Woolf, 1999). For the purposes of this research, however, the MSF is considered to describe the DfEE's 'core' funding alone. This is because the available Government financial data generally relates to this funding, and not the DCMS Lottery funding, which was audited separately.

<sup>52</sup> Interestingly, according to Ridgeway's (2002) interview with Micheal Weane, Chairman of the FMS, the original press release for Blunkett's announcement of the Standards Fund in January 1999 referred to the function of 27a as being to 'protect and restore' music services. Ridgeway posits that this initial wording implied that budgets depleted over the previous decade would be replenished to original levels. Needless to say, this wording did not appear in any subsequent government document.

<sup>53</sup> Ridgeway (2002) notes the resentment felt by some authorities who had intentionally removed funds earmarked for a central music service to other cost centres fearing that, since it was a delegated budget, Section 122 might be sequestered by schools. In other situations, he argues, the allocation made in Section 122 was 'pure luck' (p.309).

(Chapter 9 outlines how the case study local authority music service fared favourably under this arrangement).

Grant 27b was to provide central funding to allow local authorities to rebuild and expand provision following service decline or closure. It was intended:

- to expand the provision offered by LEAs in the field of music services.
- to improve the quality of taught music.
- to improve equality of access to music services.
- to promote co-operative working between LEA music services

(ibid.: Section 27b).

To be eligible for Grant 27b, Local Authorities had to arrange to match the grant value with funding from their internal budgets (Mason, 2000; Hallam and Prince, 2000), the intention being to offer 'significant financial incentives to relaunch services' (Smithers 1999, 12).

Local Authorities were invited to make individual bids for 1999-2000, outlining how they would make use of the two grants, by 15<sup>th</sup> January 1999 (DfEE, 1998a; Ofsted, 2002). Anticipating later rounds of funding, authorities were also encouraged to offer a three-year plan of their intended provision. Despite a very tight timescale, applications were received from almost all of the 150 music services then in existence (Hallam and Price, 2000). 88% of local authorities applied for funding under 27a on the basis that they were already offered some instrumental tuition provision (NACCCE, 1999). In addition, 46% of authorities bid successfully for funding under 27b (Ridgeway, 2002). The allocations were announced publicly by Estelle Morris, Minister for Schools, on 1st March 1999 (Northern Echo, 1999: 4). Before the end of the year, a total of £35,199,022 of central government funding was distributed to these authorities (HC Hansard, 2006). The total value of the fund in its first year, including local authority matched funding was between £40million and £41million (M2 Communications, 2000; Hallam and Prince, 2000)<sup>54</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> The need to prepare bids quickly, and then to find appropriate ways of spending the resulting and unexpected windfall, did create problems for some services. The Head of Kent Music Service recalled, 'Being told in January that a service has a grant starting in April for the summer academic term is terribly difficult to implement fully due to school examinations and the many other end of year activities and functions that schools have' (quoted in Ridgeway, 2002: 308).

The set of original MSF bid documents was analysed by Hallam and Prince (2000) as part of their ‘baseline’ research into music services for the DfEE. They concluded that ‘range of provision on offer appeared to be broadening, encouraged by the focus of funding specified by the DfEE Standards Fund (27b)’ (p.2). They noted that services had:

been allocated funding for a wide range of developments including increasing the number of children benefiting from remission or reduction of fees, extending opportunities to children with SEN<sup>55</sup> and those from minority ethnic groups and increasing opportunities for social inclusion through involvement with music (2000: 73).

A second round of bid applications for 2000-01 was completed during autumn 1999. To enable forward planning, ministers assured that no authority which had received Grant 27a in 1999-2000 would receive less funding. Similarly, those establishing (or re-establishing) a service via Grant 27b were also considered for continuing support (DfEE, 1999). Reflecting the wider political motivations, services were now required to make MSF-funded provision available to pupils in *all* maintained schools within their authority boundaries. Moreover, 27b promoted the access and participation agenda more explicitly:

We would be particularly interested to see projects designed to increase or improve access to the music service e.g.:

- one-off events to increase awareness of the service or stimulate interest in learning music;
- programmes to allow young people to play an instrument who otherwise would have no opportunity to do so; or
- opportunities for all young people to experience music of non-western cultures (DfEE, 1999: B27.18).

In a further drive to improve access, Grant 28b was prioritised for areas of the country which had yet to (re-)establish instrumental provision. To this end, bids were encouraged that demonstrated partnership working with businesses, arts and charitable organisations (DfEE, 1999). Central government MSF allocations for 2000-01 totalling £40.3million were announced in December 1999 (DCMS, 2000; Hansard, 2006). Making the announcement, education minister Jacqui Smith, commented:

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<sup>55</sup> Where it forms part of a historical quotation, the term SEN (for ‘special educational needs’) is retained in this thesis. In all other instances, the preferred contemporary nomenclature SEND (for ‘special educational needs and disability’) is used.

I am very encouraged by the quality of bids we have received so far. Many more LEAs are coming forward with innovative ideas to expand music provision and to develop it in a well-managed way. Many are concentrating on helping all young people to have access to music by reducing or waiving fees and to widen the range of music which they experience (quoted in M2 Communications, 1999b, para. 5).

In May 2000, the Government announced that the total value of the MSF would be increased by £10million to £50million per year (Mason, 2000). Again, this included £10million derived from local authority matched funding (M2 Communications, 2000). In October 2000, Smith announced a further £10million would be added. She also confirmed that this level would be sustained until 2003-04 (DfES, 2001a). Citing Hallam and Prince's (2000) research findings, Smith argued that, 'even in the first full term of operation, the new funding for music was making a difference' (quoted in M2 Communications, 2000: para. 7)<sup>56</sup>. By March 2001, 95% of music services had received some level of funding from the fund (DfES, 2001a). Amongst the 28 services inspected between October 2000 and March 2002, the MSF accounted for between 25% and 40% of total income (Ofsted, 2002).

With motivations for the MSF now focusing on access and participation, allocations for 2001-02 onwards were made on the basis of a new funding formula which combined grants 27a and 27b (HC Hansard, 2001). Henceforth, £25million of the £50million contributed by Central Government would be allocated on the basis of the total number of schools in each local authority. The remaining £25million would be distributed on the basis of the percentage of pupils in receipt of FSM in each authority. The application of this so-called 'FSM deprivation factor' (ibid.) can be taken as further evidence of the Government's wish to see access to instrumental music provision extended to pupils from backgrounds regarded as social-economically deprived. Subsequently, the MSF was extended again in 2002 to cover 2005-06 (Davies and Stephens, 2006).

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<sup>56</sup> Hallam and Prince's (2000) study had been commissioned by the DfEE specifically to provide a 'baseline against which to monitor progress as the... funding began to have an impact and to establish the nature and extent of current provision' (p1). Previously, a government press release in July 1999 had suggested that the results of their research would also be used to inform the generation of the new funding formula for 2001-02 (M2 Communications, 1999a).

In the year before the MSF was introduced, local authority grants typically represented between 20% and 60% of their music services' income (Hallam and Prince, 2000). By around 2002, however, evidence suggested that whilst central Government's contribution to the MSF was succeeding in 'protecting' existing music service provision, the complimentary aim of 'expanding' provision was proving to be less successful (Hallam, 2012). This was allegedly due to some authorities viewing the prospect of ring-fenced central funding not as an opportunity to *augment* existing provision but to *reduce* local budget allocations correspondingly. Specifically, given that the DfEE had imposed no requirement that authorities honour their existing Section 122 budgets, some were using local money 'saved' from having received 100% subsidy under 27a to put up matched funding for a bid under 27b (see Morrison, 2000; Ridgeway, 2002). Some local authorities stood accused of quietly withdrawing their matched 27b funding part way through the academic year, once central government's contribution was safely banked. In other cases, music services were told to decline or return money received via 27b to the DfES since the parent authorities could no longer honour commitments to match it. As a result of such 'flexible accounting' within its first year of operation, one estimate offset the total DfEE contribution of £40million by a net reduction of local authority funding of around £25million (Woodward, 2000)<sup>57</sup>:

What ministers didn't anticipate—naive souls that they are—was that local councils would grab this new government money but cynically slash their own spending, leaving their youth music centres no better off (and often worse off) than before (Morrison, 2001: 7)<sup>58</sup>.

These perceived 'cuts' in local budgets resulted in vociferous protests in the media (e.g. Morrison, 2000; Elkin, 2002) and in parliament (e.g. Kent, 2003). According to Michael Wearne of the FMS, it was the Government who lost face as a result and not the local authorities, since the former had made great political capital from the MSF and it was very much seen as 'their' money (Ridgeway, 2002). Unsurprisingly, then, the DfES decided to provide

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<sup>57</sup> It is difficult to gain a more precise impression of how the MSF impacted on music services' income in its first year of operation as Hallam and Prince's (2000) study was conducted too early for financial data to have been available.

<sup>58</sup> Also see Ridgeway (2002: 307-309) for a fascinating transcript of comments made by senior members of the FMS regarding DfEE civil servants' alleged naivety that local authorities would act in this way.

100% funding to local authorities that had pursued expansion programmes for their music services from 2002-03 onwards. Unfortunately, whilst this measure did succeed in rewarding local authorities 'sympathetic' to the cause of instrumental music tuition, it also compounded funding inequities in terms of the age of service, different types of local authority and in different parts of the country (Hallam and Rogers, 2002). As tables 5.1 and 5.2 show, varying levels of MSF and local authority support inevitably meant that the amounts requested from parents also varied considerably. Moreover, there was evidence that newly (re)formed services were more reliant on the MSF than older services, who had more established funding streams from parents. In all areas, and in all types of authority, Hallam and Rogers' (2002) data suggested that the average level of local authority funding had dropped since the 1999 survey.

**Table 5.1** Average levels of music service income from different sources, as at June 2002, broken down by different types of English local authority (data from Hallam and Rogers, 2002: 54)

<b>Type of local authority</b>	<b>Source of income</b>				
	LA contribu- tion	MSF	Schools	Parents/ families	Other
<b>County</b>	12%	33%	32%	22%	5%
<b>Metropolitan</b>	16%	52%	24%	10%	3%
<b>Unitary</b>	13%	43%	27%	20%	5%
<b>London</b>	22%	46%	16%	19%	4%
<b>All types</b>	16%	44%	25%	18%	4%

**Table 5.2** Average levels of music service income from different sources, as at June 2002, broken down by English region (figures from Hallam *et al*, 2002: 55)

English region	Source of income				
	LA contribution	MSF	Schools	Parents/families	Other
North West	11%	57%	27%	8%	3%
Yorkshire and Humber	12%	47%	21%	16%	3%
West Midlands	17%	33%	32%	12%	8%
East Midlands	13%	48%	26%	20%	4%
London	22%	46%	16%	19%	4%
South West	11%	28%	44%	13%	4%
South East	18%	31%	15%	41%	5%
North East	13%	70%	15%	7%	5%
East	13%	40%	37%	10%	1%
All regions	16%	44%	25%	18%	4%

According to Ofsted (2004: 2) ministers continued to work with music services to find more equitable ways of distributing resources. Yet a related, compounding issue was that with the MSF now fixed, no adjustments were made for inflation, resulting in an overall real terms decrease in central funding over time (Hallam, 2012). By October 2003, Hallam was urging caution:

The decision to ring-fence the money has made it much easier for authorities to offer free music tuition...However, like all money that comes from a political decision, there is no long-term guarantee on funding... If that money disappears—and local education authorities are strapped for cash—it would put a strain on the service again... Local authorities wouldn't be able to offer subsidies and that would put the opportunity for a lot of children to learn a musical instrument right out of the window (quoted in Garner, 2003: 11).

Some also felt that the Government was using its increasingly vital MSF contributions to exert 'leverage' on music services, ensuring that they 'fell in' with broader political objectives for educational, cultural and educational policy:



It used to be the LEA, and parents and schools. Now it is government, LEA, and parents and schools. The government has nearly a £40m stake directly in music services due to many LEAs treating the 27a funding as replacement money. The government is already in the position to call the shots and is beginning to do so because there are now inspections of music services (Michael Wearne of the FMS, quoted in Ridgeway, 2002: 311).

At the DfEE's request, Ofsted had begun inspecting music services' use of the MSF in May 1999, completing a total of 66 inspections across four rounds by April 2004 (Ofsted, 2002; 2004b). In addition, the IoE's DfEE-commissioned survey (Hallam and Prince, 2000) was viewed by some in the music service world as further evidence that the government was 'getting its facts and figures together, looking for standardisation of services provided and then setting targets' (Ridgeway, 2002: 312, footnote 14). These suspicions may have been fuelled in part by the recent publication of National Curriculum attainment levels for music and by increased assessments in literacy and numeracy (Finney, 2011).

Yet despite these concerns, music services' reliance on the MSF grew ever larger. By May 2004, the evaluators of the 'Endangered Species' programme found that the MSF was accounting for over a third of all music service income. In contrast, matched funding from local authorities accounted for only 14.1%, with school and parental fees making up the vast majority of the shortfall (Artservice, 2005). Ofsted put the contribution of the MSF even higher at an average of 45% per service, with some authorities found to be 100% reliant on the fund (Ofsted, 2004b). Inspectors echoed Hallam's concern at this situation:

The total reliance of some services on MSF raises questions about: the strategies that LEAs have to develop those services further; the contingency plans they have in the event of reviews of MSF; and the effectiveness of the partnership between the services and schools (Ofsted, 2004b: 16).

Increasing levels of financial reliance prompted the NMC to report in October that year that 'dependence by English LEAs on Standards Funds grants is massive' and, in some cases, 'a cause for concern' (NMC, 2004: 1, 4). The impending end of the MSF in 2006 had compounded the situation: 'uncertainty and unpredictability of funding was a major concern impacting on

staff recruitment and training programmes and the ability to plan ahead' (Artservice, 2005: 10).

By June 2004, there was evidence that many music services had begun to focus their use of the MSF on the KS2 phase. As a result, Ofsted (2004b) reported that 14% of this age group were now in receipt of instrumental tuition, whilst the average for Key Stages 1, 2 and 3 was 6%. Partly as a result of the new possibilities presented by early MSF grants, many KS2 pupils were being taught in groups, leading to some services developing new understandings of group instrumental pedagogy as a result. Over time, experience from pilot schemes in six local authorities was developed into what would become WO (Hallam and Rogers, 2002; Davies and Stephens, 2006). Subsequently, as part of the launch of the Music Manifesto in July 2004, the government confirmed that the MSF would continue until the end of 2007-08 (Davies and Stephens, 2006). In November 2004, it announced a further £30million increase in funds, effective from 2007-08. This would be 'aimed primarily at giving every primary school pupil the opportunity to learn a musical instrument' (David Miliband, quoted in *The Journal*, 2004: 38) and was intended to begin to address the White Paper's famous pledge (Warnock, 2006). A smaller MSF increase of £1.5million was also announced for 2005-06 to 'ensure Music Services are geared up to gain maximum impact from the additional £30million' (David Miliband, quoted in *The Journal*, 2004: 38). This equated to approximately £10,000 per Local Authority and was specifically intended to be used by music services to support instrumental and vocal music making in KS2 (M2 Communications, 2004; DfES, 2004).

Collectively, ministerial announcements and arrangements for the introduction of WO marked a subtle but distinct shift in Government policy. As recently as June 2003, the Government's position was that MSF could be spent by local authorities 'in any way which enhances opportunities for pupils to access musical education of high quality, so potentially all students in an area benefit from its provision' (David Miliband, quoted in HC Hansard 3 June 2003). However, by December 2005, the DfES was stating that, with regard to 2006-07:

the Music Standards Fund may be used in any way which supports access to high quality music education for children in maintained schools. Within this, however, a particular emphasis should be placed on instrumental and vocal tuition at KS2 (DfES, 2005: 18).

This shift of emphasis was accompanied with fresh investment in the form of a further £3million increase in the MSF during 2006-07 to establish pilot WO programmes in each local authority (Rogers and Hallam, 2010; Hallam, 2012). To differentiate this new investment from existing MSF allocations, grants to local authorities were split into 116a (the main, 'baseline' MSF allocation, now to be known as 'Access to Local Authority Music Services')<sup>59</sup> and 116b (money for the pilot programmes, to be known as 'Funding for schools to develop new instrumental and vocal opportunities at KS2'). Grant 116b was distributed to Local Authorities on the basis of KS2 pupil numbers and took into account local deprivation data (DfES, 2005). Whilst grant 116a still included the additional £10,000 for Music Services to support KS2 instrumental and vocal opportunities, significantly, grant 116b was to be devolved to schools selected by Local Authorities. Headteachers in these schools could then choose to 'buy back' WO provision either from their music service or 'from other local providers' (DfES, 2005: 25). To meet expectations that many primary pupils would wish to continue group tuition following initial WO-funded experiences, the Government also amended legislation to allow charging for group lessons of more than four pupils (Charges for Music Tuition (England) Regulations 2007). The amendment resolved longstanding ambiguity following the 1988 Education Reform Act by confirming that charges could also be made for individual and group singing tuition.

The trend towards devolution was strengthened by the Government's announcement that the £30million intended to support the WO roll-out in 2007-08 (ultimately reduced to £23million in the December 2005 Schools Funding settlement) would go straight to schools (Kingston, 2006). Moreover, this newly-enlarged Grant 116b would not be ring-fenced, although schools would be 'urged' to spend it on music. At the very least, Headteachers were required to consult with their local authority on how the money should be

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<sup>59</sup> Around this time, some music services began to use the term 'core provision' to differentiate 'traditional' individual and small-group instrumental tuition from whole-class WO tuition.

spent and, in turn, the authorities were responsible for monitoring quality and value for money (Chapman, 2009). This re-introduction of delegation in the field of instrumental music provision was viewed with concern by bodies such as the ABRSM and the FMS (Morris, 2005; Kingston, 2006) and by prominent politicians (e.g. Warnock, 2006). At the heart of these concerns lay fears that the entire MSF might be delegated to schools following the 2007 Comprehensive spending Review and the planned end of the MSF the following year, effectively dismantling strategic, authority-wide music service provision. Ironically, given the original intentions of the MSF, music services' financial circumstances were by this time if anything more vulnerable than before, since many local authorities had reduced their own support to unprecedentedly low levels. One estimate put the 'most generous' local authority contributions to music services at 13% of total income (Kingston, 2006).

Music services' concerns regarding the delegation of 116b were partially justified when the 2007 edition of Hallam *et al*'s research on music services suggested wide variability in the effectiveness of the resulting provision. Some schools were indeed failing to use their allocations to support instrumental tuition, instead using the money to support the statutory National Curriculum or for activities unrelated to music (Hallam *et al*, 2007; Hallam, 2012). Additional research by Ofsted (2009) suggested that some primary schools lacked awareness of the Grant and how to access it. Others had handed responsibility for the management of their 116b allocations back to their local music services (DCSF, 2007a).

In the event, April 2008 was not to see the demise of the MSF. Heeding a series of recommendations made in the *Music Manifesto Report 2* (Rogers, 2006), the Government announced in November 2007 that the Fund would be retained at its current value until 2011 (Rogers and Hallam, 2010). Once again, the evolving political motivations for the standards fund were very much in evidence. Reframed as the '1.11 Standards Fund Music Grant', its purpose was now to be:

A grant aimed at increasing participation and raising standards of pupil achievement in music by:

- funding opportunities for KS2 pupils to learn a musical instrument and/ or to receive specialist vocal tuition
- maintaining and extending the broadest possible access to music education provision (DCSF, 2007c: 49).

In order to reduce the identified variability in the use of WO funding, Grants 116a and 116b were combined to form one ring-fenced budget that would allow local authorities to 'prioritise funding to support their Instrumental and Vocal Programmes at KS2' (DCSF, 2007b: 3). This combined grant was distributed to Local Authorities, who were required to consult with local schools forums regarding WO support (Rogers and Hallam, 2010).

Additionally, a further £40million was made available to support the purchase of new instrument stocks over the coming four years (Hallam, 2012). In a wide-ranging and aspirational guidance document, the Government outlined its vision for the revised MSF: 'by 2011 we believe that all primary school pupils who want to *can* have the opportunity to learn a musical instrument' (DCSF, 2007b: 1). In order to bring about this vision, local authorities were 'strongly recommended' to draw up three-year strategies (later known as 'Local Authority Music Plans' or LAMPs). The appointment of an official National Music Participation Co-ordinator in February 2008<sup>60</sup> was a further innovation, intended to promote the quality assurance through the sharing of good practice and the collection of dissemination of monitoring data (DCSF, 2007b; Ofsted, 2009).

By February 2010, the musical establishment was once again gearing up to campaign for the standards fund to be retained past 2011. They were doing so within a radically changed economic climate. As part of this campaign, the ISM released figures that put the estimated average level of music service income from the MSF at 38%, with a further 11% contributed by local authorities (a figure which makes Kingston's (2006) 'generous' estimate of 14% look even more generous!) Schools, parents and other funding sources were making up the remaining 51%.

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<sup>60</sup>Richard Hallam MBE, formerly Specialist Music Adviser and Head of Oxfordshire Music Service, was named as the inaugural National Music Participation Director (Hallam, 2008; Stewart, 2008).

Table 5.3 compares these estimates with equivalents from earlier points in the MSF era. It also gives the situation just before the fund was introduced.

**Table 5.3** Estimated breakdown of averaged music service income sources: 1998-2010. Data for 2010 was not differentiated in terms of schools, parents/families or other sources (data from Hallam and Prince; 2000; Hallam and Rogers, 2002; Hallam *et al*, 2005; Annetts, 2010)<sup>61</sup>

	1998-99	2001-02	2004-05	2009-10
<b>LA Contribution</b>	51%	16%	13%	11%
<b>MSF contribution</b>	0	44%	43%	38%
<b>Schools</b>	27%	25%	25%	51%
<b>Parents/families</b>	17%	18%	16%	
<b>Other</b>	5%	4%	12%	

Whilst some of the figures in table 5.3 are estimated averages, the direction of travel over this period is clear. Local authority contributions fell significantly immediately after the introduction of the MSF and continued to decrease over time. The specific contribution made by the MSF also fell, whilst the level of funding contributed by schools remained roughly stable. Looking back, it does seem as though Davies and Stephens' argument that the MSF offered a 'period of financial stability' (2006: 7) was correct. It allowed music services to seek out more robust charging and remission mechanisms for parents and to attract income contributions from charities, commercial and other streams.

Despite direct reliance on the MSF decreasing over time, the ISM campaigned hard for it to remain after 2011, arguing that it was instrumental in 'directly leveraging in' the remaining funding and was thus 'absolutely critical' to the maintenance of music service infrastructure (Annetts, 2010: 3). An ISM-commissioned poll the same month found that of 2095 adults questioned, 77% supported current MSF funding levels (ISM, 2011). This, according to Annetts (2010), amounted to three pence per person per week. In response, in October 2010 the new coalition Culture Secretary Ed Vaisey announced a temporary one-year extension to the MSF, to be termed the 'Music Education Grant' (Service, 2010).

<sup>61</sup> Figures for 1998-99 are estimated averages from the data given in figures 9, 10 and 12 of Hallam and Prince (2000).

## Assessments of the national impact of the MSF

As noted, the government was keen to know how music services were spending the MSF, and what impact this spending had made on access and participation. The first three of the four research reports commissioned from Hallam and colleagues at the Institute of Education between 2000 and 2005 were one way in which this was achieved (Hallam and Prince, 2000; Hallam and Rogers, 2002; Hallam *et al*, 2005). Ofsted's (2002; 2004b) 'Protecting and Expanding Music Service' inspections between May 1999 and April 2004 were a second way<sup>62</sup>. Further assessments can be gleaned from the annual adjudication reports of the NMC's Local Education Authority Music Service Awards, an annual competition supported by the Department for Education. Moreover, comment on the MSF can also be found in third-party publications and news reportage throughout this period. Drawing on these evidence sources, it is possible to establish a relatively detailed picture of the impacts of the MSF as they relate to the two key motivations for the MSF outlined above.

### *Increasing participation and improving equality of access*

Following its first round of fifteen music service inspections, Ofsted concluded that 'the Standards Fund for music has been welcomed and well used. Music services have responded quickly to opportunities to protect and expand their work' (2002: 2). Similarly, Hallam and Rogers' 2002 survey found that:

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62 Not all the reports of the 66 inspections remain available and it has only been possible to locate a small number (Ofsted, 2000; 2001; 2003a; 2003b; 2004a), along with a summary of one further report (Education and the Arts Select Committee, 2002). The inspection report for the case study music service was also available. However, in order to keep the identity of this service confidential, it is not included in this section. Of the services whose reports are extant (including that of the case study service), three were judged to have used the MSF 'very effectively', three 'effectively' and one 'satisfactorily'.

the establishment of the Music Standards Fund had clearly enabled existing Music Services to stabilise and halted the decline in services which was in evidence prior to 1999. New services had developed as a result of the funding. In addition, the funding focused attention on the breadth of provision and the extent of access. This has increased inclusion and made it possible for LEAs to adopt and implement systematic remissions policies which were generally not in place in 1999. While there is still room for improvement... the progress between 1999 and 2002 has been impressive (Hallam and Rogers, 2002: 11).

Perhaps most significantly, a number of music services were completely re-established thanks to the MSF (Annetts, 2010). Hallam *et al's* (2005) research indicated that some 40 services were less than five years old by that time, whilst a further 16 were established between 2002 and 2004. Amongst the first tranche of re-established services were those in several inner London Boroughs, whose former provision had been lost with the end of the Inner London Education Authority some eight years before (Hallam and Prince, 2000). Services in Barnsley, Northumberland, St Helens and Ealing were also re-established (M2 Communications, 1999b; 2000). In the case of the last of these, ten years had passed without any local authority music provision at all in the borough (Artservice, 2005). The incoming head of service lamented, 'it's a great pity that one whole generation of school children have missed out' (quoted in Elkin, 2000: 12).

After only eleven months of its existence, the adjudicators of the 1999-2000 Local Authority Music Service Awards concluded that 'the investment of Standards Fund monies holds out genuine promise of broadening access to music making and raising standards' (NMC, 2001a: 5). Within the first year of the MSF, there was already evidence that the number of primary, secondary and special schools reached nationally by music services was increasing (Hallam and Prince, 2000). By the autumn of 2001, Ealing was found to be complying with new MSF requirements by ensuring that all schools within the authority had access to tuition (Ofsted, 2001). Wiltshire, on the other hand, was deemed to be still not reaching all schools by autumn 2003. In order to raise participation further, the service was told that it must 'monitor access and equality of opportunity for pupils, address the issue of the selection of



instruments by pupils, and membership of the ensembles' (Ofsted, 2003a: 7).

They recommended that the authority:

work with schools to develop clear policies and strategies which ensure greater involvement of boys and pupils from low income families in the full range of activities and opportunities offered' and to 'explore the reasons for the high rate of drop-out from instrumental lessons and develop strategies to address this (Ofsted, 2003a: 8).

Rotherham and Shropshire, Telford and Wrekin were given substantially the same advice (Ofsted, 2003b, 2004a). In addition, both were told that children must be encouraged to participate in the full range of activities on offer, and to not confine themselves to traditional gender-related instrument choices and ensembles.

According to Hallam and Prince (2000), many music services had acknowledged deficiencies in their provision for particular client groups within their initial MSF bid documents, hoping that the resulting funds would allow these to be addressed. Particular problems were identified in attempting to reach children from various ethnic backgrounds and those regarded as being particularly 'gifted' in music. Some services subsequently used MSF funding to organise 'theme days', promoting aspects of their provision deemed particularly relevant to these groups. In another example, a joint, MSF-initiative between the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth Music Services sought to 'give opportunities to participate in music to young people not currently engaged in musical activity, particularly those in disadvantaged areas and to boys' (NMC, 2001a: 5). Nonetheless, by June 2002, Ofsted was telling services that more must be done to 'expand the range of provision to take account of the traditions within schools and in their communities and of the agreement on which the funding from the Standards Fund is based' (2002: 3). Clearly having heeded this advice, Wiltshire was praised for having used the MSF to increase participation overall by the following autumn (Ofsted, 2003). Hallam *et al* (2005) offered the first robust national data on participation by ethnic group. Their study showed that 73% of music service pupils were white, with 'substantial portions of ethnic minority groups' also in receipt of tuition (Chapter 8 includes further discussion of these data). By 2007, the national proportion of KS1 and 2 music service participants from

BAME backgrounds was between 28 and 30%, overtaking the proportion in the school population as a whole (Hallam *et al*, 2007).

Many services had identified specialist SEND provision as a focus for MSF-funded expansion. Ealing, Wiltshire and Hampshire, for instance, all increased their engagement with special schools, using the fund to support projects, staff development and the development of curriculum resources (Ofsted, 2000; 2001; 2003a). Again, services which did not make active steps to engage in this way were told by Ofsted that they must do so (e.g. Ofsted, 2003b). Hallam and Rogers' (2002) research revealed a markedly different picture from 1999, with 7% of pupils registered as having SEND engaged in instrumental tuition – only 1% fewer than the school population as a whole. SEND provision had grown again by 2005, although differences in SEND categorisation and difficulties in data collation make a direct comparison harder (Hallam *et al*, 2005).

Early indications were that the MSF was primarily used by music services to ensure unremitted tuition fees remained stable and did not rise further, though in a minority of cases fees did reduce across the board (Hallam and Prince, 2000). Additionally, approximately 8% of music services had adopted policies in the first year of the scheme which saw the fund used to subsidise fee remissions. One instrumental teacher reported:

It is only due to the recent Standards Funding that it has been possible to teach more of the disadvantaged pupils. Until now they have been seriously missed out as there has been no finance to teach them (quoted in Hallam and Prince, 2000: 28).

In another example, Camden was reported to have used part of their allocation to subsidise music tuition for pupils from poorer families (M2 Communications, 2000). The following year, Birmingham Music Service was also offering free lessons thanks to the MSF, bringing to an end local disparities due, according to the Head of Service, to a 'very large minority of primary schools [continuing] to utilise their funding in other areas (quoted in Collins, 2001: 13). On the other hand, problems were reported in situations where an initial, MSF-subsidised period of tuition ended and parents were asked to pay the regular cost of tuition if they wished their children to continue. Kent, for instance, offer a term's tuition for £20 in summer 2000. Yet

if children wished to continue come the autumn, parents were faced with the full cost of £70 per term, plus further instrument hire fees. The head of service reported to Ridgeway (2002: 310) that he feared 'enormous' drop-out rates as a result. A similar situation in North London was emotively articulated in the pages of *The Times*:

Last September Barnet collected £239,000 from this new Music Standards Fund, matched it with its own money and, for the first time in years, offered free instrumental tuition in schools. Even the ranks of Totteridge could scarce forbear to cheer. Just before the Easter hols, however, headteachers received a letter from Barnet's chief education officer announcing that the free lessons would stop immediately. Barnet now says that the lessons were only ever intended as "tasters", and that "all those involved, including parents, were aware that funding might be available from the Standards Fund only for these two terms". That, of course, is complete Horlicks. Most parents didn't have a clue that the free lessons would stop just as soon as little Sharon had begun to develop a real liking for her French horn (Morrison, 2000: 9).

A perceived flaw in the MSF, identified at an early point, was that 'although the terms of the grants... require improvements in equality of access to music services, no basic principle of entitlement to access has yet been established' (NACCCE, 1999: 164). It was often down to individual schools, the FMS noted, to make decisions regarding the extent to which fees would be passed on to parents and whether those eligible for FSM would be offered remission (Roper and Randles, 2000). In the view of the NACCCE, this was likely to lead to 'marked disparities across the country' (1999: 163) because not all local authorities would use the money for the same things. A common rationale was needed, they concluded, to ensure that 'disparate funding strands, uneven geographical coverage and standards, and differing fee structures can be made coherent and fair' (p.164). Perhaps with examples such as those in Kent and Barnet in mind, the composer James Macmillan complained in September the following year that instrumental lessons were still the preserve of richer families: 'The involvement by pupils from comprehensive schools has decreased and that is a matter of shame which I think a Labour government especially would want to address' (quoted in Ward, 2000: 1.9). Yet whilst his comments were welcomed by the National Association of Youth Orchestras, they were rejected as inaccurate by the head of Hampshire's music service.

The first systematic evidence of the impact of MSF came with Hallam and Rogers' (2002) survey. Overall, this *did* find evidence of far greater awareness on the part of music services to demonstrate equality of opportunity with regard to pupils with SEND and those from different ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds<sup>63</sup>. Whilst they felt there was still more to be done, the researchers also found that music services were far more systematic regarding the collation and analysis of data with which to monitor equality issues. The 2002 edition of the IoE survey was also the first to offer statistical evidence of the impact of the MSF. The researchers found statistically significant positive and negative correlations between the percentage of total music service income emanating from the MSF and a series of other financial and local factors (table 5.4).

**Table 5.4** Statistically significant correlations between the percentage of music service income from the MSF and various other financial and local factors, as at June 2002 (figures from Hallam and Rogers, 2002: 90). Values for p: \*\*\*\*=0.0001, \*\*\*=0.001, \*\*=0.01, \*=0.05.

		Correlation (r)	No. of Local Authorities contributing data
Correlation between percentage of music service income from MSF and...	...percentage of income from local authority	-0.23**	136
	...percentage of service income from schools	-0.397****	127
	...percentage of service income from parents/families	-0.45****	119
	... number of pupils aged 5-15 in the local authority	-0.18*	140
	...percentage of pupils (Key Stages 1-4) receiving regular tuition	-0.348****	135
	...percentage of primary school population eligible for FSM	0.511****	140
	...percentage of secondary school population eligible for FSM	0.482****	140

These correlations offered confirmation that the MSF was higher in areas with lower contributions from the local authority, schools and parents. The figures also suggested that the recently-introduced funding formula linking free school meal eligibility with MSF funding levels had been effective in focusing more funding on areas with greater perceived economic deprivation.

63 Hallam and Rogers' (2002) report contains a wealth of specific detail on the early impacts of the MSF and only a small amount of this is summarised here.

Surprisingly, however, the other aspect of this formula, which linked pupil numbers to MSF allocation, was not evidenced. In fact, there was a small *negative* correlation between MSF and the number of five to fifteen-year-old pupils in the authority. This may be explained by the fact that many areas with higher FSM eligibility were smaller, urban authorities with fewer pupils overall, and that, consequently, the FSM part of the formula was exerting more influence than the pupil numbers part. Perhaps most surprisingly of all, given ministers' evolving intentions for the MSF, there is a larger negative correlation between MSF contribution and the numbers of pupils in the authority in receipt of tuition ( $r=-0.348$ ). This finding led Hallam and Rogers to conclude that 'there had been little change in the overall numbers of pupils learning to play an instrument' (2002: 72).

Concerns over perceived inequities in MSF allocations, and the consequent impact on the availability of subsidised fees, continued to dog the scheme. A Guardian investigation in December 2004 (Arnot, 2004) found significant variation in the hourly tuition fee passed on to parents. In Worcestershire, parents paid £36 per hour (up from £14 two years before). In Gloucestershire they paid £27, Warwickshire £26.50 and Herefordshire £22. Fees in Northamptonshire, Birmingham and Doncaster were significantly cheaper still. Even within authorities, there was evidence of variation in fees. In Worcestershire for instance, schools could purchase tuition at the wholesale rate of £30 per hour if they undertook to administer this provision themselves. A particularly concerning conclusion of the Guardian investigation was that whilst there remained evidence of remission schemes for those eligible for FSM, it was those families just above this threshold or on middle incomes who were found to be most likely to cease tuition. The only authority still found to be offering free tuition was Barking and Dagenham, whose head of service told the Guardian the council 'didn't want to put a ceiling on achievement because some parents couldn't afford it. Between 15% and 20% of our pupils are learning an instrument compared to the national average of 12% at KS2' (quoted in Arnot, 2004: 6). This was clearly a long-term commitment on the part of Barking and Dagenham, because the 2008 Music Service Awards recognised their provision as 'far exceeded the

Standards Fund and this was reflected in all-round good quality provision' (NMC, 2008: 2)<sup>64</sup>.

Commenting on the Guardian's findings, the FMS pointed out that the MSF 'allocated money across the country according to a formula that was not equitable' (quoted in Arnot, 2004: 6). The situation had still not changed three years later when the DCSF warned that 'historically uneven funding arrangements' were likely to have an impact on the number of pupils able to benefit from WO (DCSF, 2007b: 4). Evidence of these disparities was subsequently uncovered by Bamford and Glinkowski, with one music service representative commenting:

This music service is the fifth worst funded in the country. The Standards Fund is not evenly distributed. For example, there is a big difference in the funding between X and Y. As a result, we can't offer a permanent contract and all our music teachers are paid only on an hourly contract (quoted in Bamford & Glinkowski, 2009: 28).

Croydon was another service which reported that a much lower than average MSF allocation meant that it could not meet its responsibilities under WO and continue to fund provision in all other areas (FMS, 2011)<sup>65</sup>. Yet in other areas, additional WO responsibilities (not to mention local authority funding reductions) did not impact on remission schemes. As late as January 2006, for example, Plymouth Music Service established a subsidised tuition scheme targeted at low-income families. A collaboration between the music service, Plymouth Youth Music Action Zone and local colleges, this resulted in a 50% discount for such families (Plymouth Evening Herald, 2006; Green, 2006). Nonetheless, possibly because of the equivocal situation overall, Hallam *et al* (2007) found that the number of FSM-entitled pupils in receipt of instrument tuition was around 12% of all music service pupils. This figure had not risen between 2005 and 2007, prompting Hallam and her colleagues to

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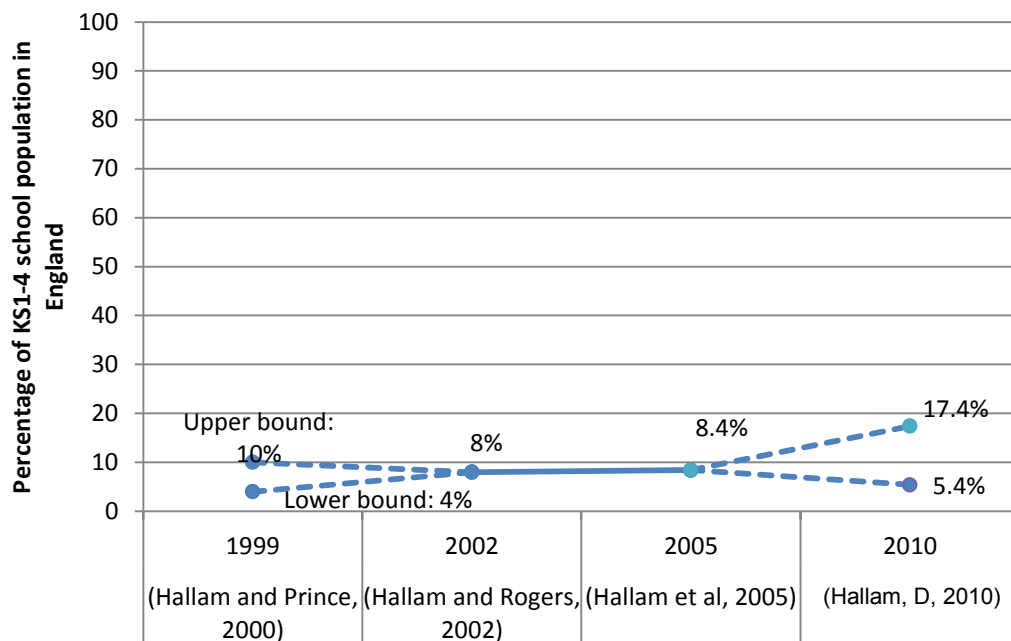
<sup>64</sup> Subsequently, in 2014 two pupils learning in Barking and Dagenham reported to Zeserson *et al* (2014) that they had received free instrumental loans and lessons right the way through primary school to leaving college.

<sup>65</sup> By 2008-09 the recently-appointed National Music Participation Director reported that national data on WO revealed no apparent link between 'fair share' funding of Local Authorities and numbers of schools reached: 'some Local Authorities that have less than their 'fair share' of the old 116a Standards Fund grant are reaching 100% of their schools whilst some Local Authorities that have more than their 'fair share' of the old 116a Standards Fund grant are only reaching 80% of schools' (Hallam, 2009: 1).

conclude: 'Music Services are still not reaching a fully representative sample of those receiving free school meals' (2007: 9).

Both the 2002 and 2005 IoE reports have well-founded estimates for the total take-up of 'core' music service instrumental tuition provision (i.e. not including WO provision). Overall, Hallam and Rogers (2002) calculated that 8% of the school population was in receipt of tuition though the researchers did acknowledge that a more detailed reading of the data revealed a considerable increase for beginners in KS2. No doubt reflecting the forthcoming emphasis on this stage as part of WO, the research showed that 7% of KS2 pupils had started tuition within the preceding twelve months. By May 2003, government figures suggested that around 10% of KS2 pupils were receiving instrumental tuition (cited in Kent, 2003). This was confirmed by Hallam *et al* (2005), who also noted that the overall level of participation had risen slightly to 8.4%.

Figure 5.1 plots all these figures as a percentage of the total number of 5-16 English school population. Figures from Hallam and Prince (2000) provide an indication of levels of take-up immediately before the MSF was launched, though these were given as an upper and lower bounded estimate. This means that one can either view the period between 1999 and 2002 as having either witnessed a 4-point *rise* in participation or a 2-point *fall*. A sense of the situation in the final year of the MSF can be gleaned from Hallam, D (2010). Again, there are two possible figures: the higher including WO learners and the second including only those learning through traditional music service 'core' provision. Taking the lower figure for 2010 one may conclude that, overall, the significant investment due to the MSF did not increase national levels of music service participation. However, if one takes the view that a major outcome of the MSF was the establishment of WO, and that thus the higher figure for 2010 is more representative, then the MSF's overall impact on participation – at least amongst KS2 learners – was considerable.



**Figure 5.1** Estimates of total take-up of music service tuition, expressed as a percentage of the KS1-4 English school population: 1999-2010. The lower figure for 2010 (5.4%) has been extrapolated from the data provided by Hallam, D (2010) to remove WO learners.

Yet, despite the overall level of ‘core’ participation failing to rise significantly due to the MSF, there were prominent increases in the number of pupils with SEND and from minority socio-ethnic backgrounds. This positive impact was summed up by Hallam *et al* (2005):

The figures contradict the view that Music Services only cater for white middle class pupils and indicate that substantial proportions of children from minority ethnic groups, eligible for free school meals and with Special Educational Needs do learn to play an instrument (2005: 9).

#### *Improving and expanding the provision*

As part of their second good practice survey, Ofsted concluded in June 2004:

In most cases, LEAs have made good use of the MSF to protect services and to extend the range of their work. Examples of expansion include: increasing the numbers receiving tuition; extending the range and breadth of ensemble opportunities; increasing provision for pupils in special schools; increasing curriculum support to schools, particularly in the primary phase; providing access to a wider range of instruments, musical styles and traditions; and supporting the ‘Wider Opportunities’ initiative at KS2 (Ofsted, 2004b: 16-17).

Even as early as 2001, the Local Authority Music Service Awards adjudicators felt able to report that the quality of submissions represented ‘hard evidence that the Music Standards Fund is having a wholly positive



effective on levels of provision. Indeed, it is many years since we saw so many vital, upbeat submissions' (NMC, 2001b: 1). In the view of Ofsted, this was in part due to the MSF having been used to recruit additional teachers, administrators and managers, enabling more extensive and better planned provision (e.g. Ofsted, 2001; 2003a). Inspectors also praised use of the MSF to provide greater professional development opportunities for staff, more robust systems of quality assurance and better performance management). Some services indicated that initial MSF allocations would be used to set up pupil databases, facilitating better administration and monitoring of provision (Hallam and Prince, 2000). This said, Hallam *et al* (2002) and Ofsted (2002; 2004b) still reported significant deficiencies with the collection and analysis of service data.

For newly established services such as Ealing, the MSF allowed the creation of area ensembles (Ofsted, 2001). In older services, it meant that these could be protected, whilst additional performance opportunities could be offered for the first time to beginner and intermediate players (Ofsted, 2003a). Growing opportunities for pupils to take up 'minority', or larger instruments was a further common desire amongst music services, not least in order to fill vacancies within ensembles (e.g. Ofsted, 2000; 2003a). This was, of course, several years before Endangered Species (Artservice, 2005; 2006). Repair and renewal of instrument stocks and the facility to offer free loans also proved to be common uses for MSF money (Hallam and Prince, 2000; Ofsted, 2001; 2003a).

Increasing world music, folk, pop and jazz provision was a priority in many services (Hallam and Prince, 2000). The re-established service in Ealing established programmes for local 7-16 year-olds in African, Caribbean and South Asian traditions (Elkin, 2000). Hampshire funded the appointment of a world music coordinator, leading to a series of steel pan and Gamelan projects (Ofsted, 2000). This service also funded a jazz residency. By 2005 there was national evidence that these investments were paying off, when Hallam *et al* reported that 'the range of instruments which children were playing in 2005 demonstrates an expansion in breadth of tuition opportunities' (2005: 67).

Singing provision was often reported to have been enhanced through MSF support. Both Wiltshire and Hampshire were able to employ voice specialists and establish projects as a result of the fund (Ofsted, 2000; 2003a). By 2005, 74% of music services were offering singing tuition (Hallam *et al*, 2005). Some music services used the MSF to fund collaborations with local youth services, setting up out-of-hours youth clubs and organising activities intended to appeal to a broader range of young people, including kit drumming, electric guitar, world music and music technology facilities (Hallam and Prince, 2000). The MSF made it possible for Camden Music Service to extend their Saturday music school provision from secondary to primary pupils (M2 Communications, 2000).

Effective partnerships with schools were highly regarded by inspectors. For instance, Hampshire was able to provide vocal and recorder projects to primary schools and appointed a dedicated secondary curriculum coordinator (Ofsted, 2000). Subsequently, the service developed a suite of new curricular and extra-curricular support (NMC, 2001b), found by Ofsted to have had a 'significant positive impact on the music curriculum in schools' (2000: 3). Ealing did likewise, providing staff to support school ensembles and arrange inter-school performances and festivals (Ofsted, 2001; 2003a). In Hackney, the Music Development Trust combined funds from the MSF and the Paul Hamlyn Foundation (PHF) to fund an opera education project with a local primary school (Jones, 2002). Some services used the MSF to fund pianists who could support music-making in local schools (Hallam and Prince, 2000). Promoting tuition opportunities and giving first-hand experience of live music performance through touring 'demonstration' concerts and workshops around local schools were further common uses for allocations (Hallam and Prince, 2000). Where less effective collaboration with schools was identified by Ofsted, services were told that they needed to improve links with the curriculum and monitor how closely they met teachers' needs (e.g. Education and the Arts Select Committee, 2002; Ofsted, 2003a; 2003b; 2004a)

Co-operative working between services had been keenly promoted in the original MSF criteria (Ridgeway, 2002). This was something that had been

quickly realised by the Isle of Wight and Portsmouth's joint 'Solent Music Project' (NMC, 2001a). In another example, Brighton and Hove, East Sussex and Medway services collaborated on a project intended to attract young people not previously involved in music (NMC, 2001b). Ofsted (2003a) praised Wiltshire for expanding provision through MSF-facilitated partnerships; the service collaborated on projects with the local Music Centre Trust, visiting artists, and local amateur musical groups. In line with the evolving intentions for Grant 27b outlined above, effective project working was highly valued by Ofsted, particularly where large numbers of pupils and school staff were involved, *and* where these led to progression opportunities (e.g. Ofsted, 2000).

## Summary

The third of this study's research questions was:

Given its stated aim to increase and widen young people's participation in instrumental music tuition, to what extent was the MSF successful in ameliorating these hidden barriers at a national level?

The sums of money involved in the eleven-year history of the MSF were unprecedented. It is clear that the New Labour government explicitly sought to use the fund as a lever to broaden access to music service provision. Official inspections and surveys were conducted, in large part, to ensure that music services refocused their work on these goals and many developed fresh strategies for increasing access and participation. As a result, the evidence reviewed above suggests that, at a national level, the application of the MSF *did* enable many music services to begin to address several of the hidden barriers explored in Chapter 4. Yet, the evidence is more equivocal with regard to the remaining barriers and so drawing firm conclusions is more difficult. Fundamentally, it appears that the same issue that had dogged the sector as a whole for decades meant that consistent progress could not be made at a national level. The lack of a statutory footing for music service tuition—combined with an unequal funding formula and further compounded by differing local attitudes and priorities—led to a situation where provision and funding arrangements could still vary enormously from authority to authority.

Overall, it is clear that the injection of the MSF did allow many music services to reduce—or, probably more accurately, stabilise—their reliance on parental fees and to offer broader, more transparent support for those on lower incomes through more consistent policies on fee remission and instrumental loans. Nonetheless, there is also evidence that schemes for offering discounted fees were sometimes time-limited, and that problems could occur when the time came for parents to pay more. Moreover, because of the persistence of geographical disparities, families might still be confronted with very different costs, even in neighbouring authorities.

There is evidence that many services undertook initiatives to promote their work to young people from a broader range of ethnic and cultural backgrounds, seeking to engage sections of the community who may not have been involved in instrumental music making and tuition before. Extant Ofsted inspection reports confirm that music services were often told in no uncertain terms to address perceived gaps in their client groups. Provision in non-Western, popular and technology-based musical styles increased in many cases, though perhaps, here again, the time-limited project-based approach employed may have limited more consistent progression opportunities. Support for pupils with SEND was another area where the MSF led to considerably increased provision in some cases. There is also a little evidence to show that at least some services sought to redress traditional gender imbalances on instruments. One corollary from these conclusions is that that barriers created by professional perceptions of pupils' home life and environment at least had the *potential* to be ameliorated. As noted, music services were often praised by Ofsted during the MSF era for demonstrating a greater commitment towards staff CPD. We may speculate that, as a result, a greater awareness of the challenges faced by some young people was engendered, and that practical strategies for overcoming these were shared. These are certainly strong themes of Beach *et al*/ (2011)'s textbook, a publication which drew on the materials from the popular Open University/Trinity College London WO CPD programme funded by DCSF.

There is some evidence that the impacts on access of individual school culture and of historical relationships between music services and schools were addressed positively by the MSF. As noted, some services did report that the additional funding meant that they were less dependent on individual schools being prepared to purchase tuition using devolved funds, and thus the potential participant base would have increased as a result. Other services were able to appoint staff whose responsibilities included liaison with curricular colleagues. Since the MSF bid criteria also promoted partnership working, it does seem that there would have been considerable potential in some cases for more ‘joined up’ ventures between music services and schools, perhaps on the basis of shared musical and educational goals.

On the other hand, nationally, there seems little conclusive evidence to suggest that MSF investment led to the amelioration of access challenges relating to family vehicle ownership, instrument size and weight or the distances between pupils’ homes and teaching/rehearsing sites. As noted, some services did use their funding to establish specific provision in traditionally under-served areas of their authorities. One implication is that it might have therefore been easier for participants to reach this provision, since it was closer to them. However, no specific evidence has emerged of services using the MSF allocations to fund travel bursaries or lay on communal transport (as some music services had done in earlier decades – see Chapter 3). This said, Chapter 4 noted that Endangered Species evaluations found a greater awareness of access challenges associated with larger instruments. Since the MSF era took in the period when this scheme was active, it is conceivable that authorities may have chosen to allocate MSF funding in this way as a result. On a very practical level, it may be that the distribution of Endangered Species-funded ‘gig bags’ might have made it easier for young musicians to access MSF-funded ensembles.

With regards to the long-standing accusations of middle-class bias and the view that tuition was more likely to be taken up by families with a greater awareness of arts and culture, the available evidence is more difficult to interpret. Hallam and Rogers’ (2002) survey did find a statistically significant positive correlation between the level of music services’ income emanating

from the MSF and authorities' level of FSM eligibility. This implies that the funding formula was successfully *targeting* money at areas of greater economic hardship. On the other hand, Ofsted's (2002) good practice survey told services that their promotion and recruitment activities needed to ensure that pupils had 'particular information about those opportunities that are new to them and to their families, ensuring that subsequent decisions are based on educational principles and not unduly affected by market forces' (p.3). The counterpoising of these contemporaneous findings suggests that Lareau's working-class 'sense of constraint' may well have been a factor. Specifically, whilst the MSF might have theoretically provided the means by which pupils from low-income families might have paid for their tuition (and we have also seen that remission policies were also much improved by this point), it is possible that pupils from such families may not have always been sufficiently aware of the financial support available to them 'on the ground'. Even if they were, the conclusions of Chapter 4 suggest that some pupils and their families may have needed further, pro-active encouragement in order to be confident that this kind of activity was 'for them'.

On the other hand, it is also possible that, with the introduction of more comprehensive remission policies under the MSF, the group less able to access music service tuition on the basis of cost shifted to embrace families slightly higher up the income scale. Hallam *et al*'s assertion, made on the basis of their 2004-05 survey results, that music services no longer catered only 'for white middle class pupils' (2005: 66) would have provided welcome news for many. Yet this should to be considered against the findings of the Guardian's investigation, undertaken during the same academic year, which found that it was likely to be those young people with family incomes *just above* the FSM threshold – and perhaps even those on middle incomes - who were found to be most likely to cease tuition.

It is possible that either, or both, of these reasons may help to explain why, overall, the national percentage of young people engaging with individual/small group music service instrumental tuition did not grow during the MSF era (see figure 5.1). On the other hand, if one accepts the argument made above that WO became the pre-eminent focus for MSF funding as time

went on, then overall young people's engagement with music service provision *did* increase. Then again, there is evidence that, against a backdrop of falling contributions from local authorities, music services found it increasingly hard to balance their existing levels of provision with their new responsibilities towards WO. In situations where the latter scheme had proved particularly successful in enthusing children to continue instrumental study, services might have found it difficult to accommodate increased numbers within their existing provision for older learners. Bamford and Glinkowski's acknowledgement of this issue below is interesting because their reference to 'talent' and its management are perhaps nods to the continuing salience of the pyramid model (Chapter 3) as a practical means of reconciling increased uptake with limited resources:

While 'one off' arrangements are often made for children that show talent, it is not clear how these connect with broader programmes of talent development in music. In particular, more effort needs to be made to build continuous pathways for instrumental learning, especially between primary and secondary school. Further information could be made available to pupils and their teachers that highlight continuation options and provisions for talented children (Bamford and Glinkowski, 2009: 5).

To conclude, we may once again stress the variability of effectiveness of the MSF in broadening access to music service provision. In local authorities where strong leadership and policy in this area cohered with ample funding settlements, there is clear evidence that the MSF brought great benefits. In a desire to explore the nuances of these impacts in more depth, it is to one of these more pro-active authorities to which we will turn for phase 2 of this research.

## Chapter 6 – Phase 1 summary and conclusions

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 constitute the findings of Phase 1 of this study. They address the first three research questions stated at the end of Chapter 1. Before proceeding to the Phase 2 case study, it is important to consider how the lens of social praxeology might usefully be focused on the overriding general themes emerging from the historical assessment of local authority music services.

In the absence of statutory regulation, it is clear that music services developed in many varied ways, reflecting distinct combinations of philosophies, local priorities and funding arrangements. On the basis of Chapter 3, we may conclude that—both historically and geographically—access to music service provision has been far from equitable, despite the very best intentions of many professionals. In the absence of an alternative, unifying vision, it is possible to trace the emergence of a *pragmatic mind-set* towards the management of this access. In Chapter 3, this was characterised as a professional ‘acceptance’ that, whilst ‘selecting’ pupils for instrumental tuition might be difficult and uncomfortable, within the prevailing funding and organisational structures, capacity was inherently limited and selections would need to be made. Consequently, not all young people could benefit from music service instrumental tuition. Earlier chapters have suggested that, with the passage of time, this mindset became doxic, in other words ‘normal’ or even ‘legitimate’ (Pilaro, 2006). Once embedded, this mind-set became a durable part of many individuals’ habitus and many institution’s ‘situated curricula’.

Chapter 3 traced an important practical outcome of this doxic mind-set: the evolution of the *pyramid* model of provision in which steadily fewer young people participate. As was clear from figure 3.1, progression up the pyramid has typically been assumed to be based on notions of ‘talent’, ‘musical ability’, perhaps associated with expectations of higher levels of personal motivation and commitment. From the perspective of social praxeology, this pyramid is a very clear example of a ‘symbolic system’. For Bourdieu (1977), there are two reasons why such systems are key to explaining how certain



social groups sustain and reproduce dominance over others. Firstly, they help to inform actors' understanding of what is 'correct' within a social field. Secondly, they subsequently help trivialise or conceal any resulting social injustices, perhaps even making these injustices seem just, even desirable (Prasad, 2005). Bourdieu argues that these outcomes are due to an inevitable process of 'misrecognition', whereby the true nature of relations between the actors, material and symbolic resources within a field remains concealed (Everett, 2002). Thus, whilst the pyramid model ostensibly promotes notions of musical 'talent', 'ability' and 'motivation'. a social praxeological reading of the findings presented in Chapter 4, suggests that these notions do not represent the whole story. Fundamentally, the reason that the hidden selection criteria have remained *hidden* is likely to be because the pyramid has *concealed* them. Consequently, for an actor to reveal the 'true nature' of the contradictory relations inherent in a field is, according to Bourdieu, '*sacrilège par excellence*, the unforgivable sin which all the censorships constituting the field seek to repress' (1983: 354, quoted in Everett, 2002: 61). This is one reason perhaps why the literature reviewed in earlier chapters does not contain more admissions along the lines of Cooper's assertion that 'middle class' families were more likely to accept the 'offer' of music service tuition, or like those of the instrumental teacher who told Ben-Tovim that 'most children just haven't got it in them' to engage with the classical repertoire. Such comments are at odds with the pyramid's concept of instrumental progression through talent, hard work, motivation and self-improvement.

When dominant social groups successfully impose a symbolic system to reinforce socially unjust arrangements, the result is, for Bourdieu, *symbolic violence* (Prasad, 2005), something which he argues is particularly prevalent within education systems (see Everett, 2002). Just as has been the case with the pyramid model, this is achieved 'without force or coercion (ibid.: 202) and in ways not visible to all. On the other hand, such a system 'needs constant justification, or else it will be threatened by too many tensions and acts of resistance against it' (ibid.). This offers one reason for the pyramid model's endurance, e.g. Chapter 3 noted official references to a pyramid-style model from 1944, with the latest major exposition in the 2011 NPME document.

Drawing on social praxeology, Gherardi *et al* (1998) developed the concept of the ‘situated curriculum’ to describe how individuals exposed to the working practices of particular organisations and sectors come to incorporate the values associated with these practices into their habitus:

the situated curriculum emphasises the fact that its content is closely related to the specific set of local material, economic, symbolic, and social characteristics of the system of practices and work activities... A general feature of the situated curriculum is its tacit nature. The situated curriculum is embedded in the general habits and traditions of the community, and it is sustained and tacitly transmitted from one generation to the next, thereby embodying intervening modifications in the system of practices (Gherardi *et al*, 1998: 12-13).

As noted, a social praxeological reading of the pyramid model suggests that successful ascent has often been hindered by a range of *hidden barriers*. Over the history of local authority music services, some young people may have been better placed to navigate these barriers, perhaps due to the presence of various forms of financial, social and cultural capital, manifested practically in *resource boosters* either at home or at school.

Like the pyramid model itself, the application and outcomes of these boosters also became doxic, so expected and accepted that they were incorporated into the situated curricula of music services and the schools they served:

In communities that do not undergo major ‘revolutionary’ changes consequent on the subversion of their system of practice, the [situated] curriculum tends to change incrementally over time, without it having to be made explicit. The novices need to do certain things because they are ‘right’, ‘logical’, ‘this is the way you do it’, or because ‘if it worked for me, it will work for you’ (Gherardi *et al*, 1998: 14).

By the 1990s, local authority music services were functioning in a highly-colonised, heteronomous field, attempting to balance a newly-marketised operating context with increased emphasis on equality of opportunity and stronger awareness of the extrinsic personal, social and economic value of musical engagement. It seems that at this point, these organisations *did* undergo a ‘revolutionary change’ which *did* lead to a ‘subversion of their system of practice’.

Bourdieu regards social life as a site of conflict between dominant and dominated groups (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1993). As outlined in Chapter 3, it is certainly the case that some powerful figures within the musical establishment reacted vociferously to the perceived conflict associated with this degree of field colonisation. Perhaps, then, this is the origin of the *halcyon view*, where these figures looked back to past forms of music service provision perceived as having been more ordered, secure and predictable (but, in reality, simply more congruent with the symbolic system promoted by those with great levels of capital). In the face of uncertainty and threat, it may be that some retreated to what felt familiar. As Bourdieu puts it, social groups ‘must tend to invest the capital which they may transmit in the market that is capable of guaranteeing for it the best yield’ (1977: 502, quoted in Everett, 2002: 64). These individuals were thus opining from a privileged position since, it can be argued, the system of resource boosters had ‘worked for them’. Moreover, with their very high levels of institutional and social capital, these musicians found themselves in possession of powerful and influential voices as the government drew up plans for the MSF.

At this point, it is worth considering in a little more detail the political context leading up to the introduction of the MSF. By now it is clear that it would be too simplistic to conclude that, with its introduction of the MSF, the New Labour Government rejuvenated a once fully-functioning system that had been damaged by the previous Conservative administration. Despite the traumatic, vitiating chain of events documented in Chapter 3, the introduction of LMS does seem to have resulted in slightly increased levels of participation overall. Moreover, there was evidence of music services becoming more responsive to the needs of pupils and their schools. On the basis of Chapter 5, we may conclude that, whilst it is certainly the case that the MSF did seem to address many of the less positive outcomes of this very difficult period, in itself, the development of the fund did not lead to wholesale reform of the sector. With regard to arts education policy more generally, Finney (2011) argues that New Labour largely took forward core philosophies inherited from their Conservative predecessors, combining these with an additional focus on ‘creativity’, as understood through the economic

conceptualisation of the ‘creative industries’. He points to the foreword of the NACCCE report as evidence of this synthesis:

Our cultural heritage, together with creativity through self-expression, offers a way of developing the talent for the individual and their understanding of a diverse and complex world around them (David Blunkett, writing in the foreword to NACCCE, 1999: 1).

The opportunities to explore the best of contemporary culture and to express individual creativity are two vital components of any education system committed to developing the full potential of all pupils (Chris Smith, writing in the foreword to NACCCE, 1999: 1).

On this basis, Finney argues, the ‘neo-liberal ethic of individual enterprise and entrepreneurship was fully endorsed’ (2011: 122). Music had a special place within this synthesis of ideas: ‘it was a good thing and made good sense in terms of the government’s commitment to social inclusion’ (ibid.: 123).

We may now identify two possibilities as to why, at this critical point in English instrumental music education, ministers did not grasp the nettle fully and formulate a unified, national orientation of music service *operating* policy in addition to the *funding* policy provided by the MSF. The impetus was certainly there. As noted in Chapter 3, FMS and NAME had recently completed work on the ‘Common Approach’ framework. This was regarded by the NACCCE as offering the potential for ‘coherence, consistency, continuity, progression and parity of esteem in instrumental and vocal tuition’ (1999: 162). It was duly recommended by the Committee as the basis of a ‘national strategy’<sup>66</sup>. The first possibility is that, influenced by the lobbying of the musical establishment, ministers decided that the existing music service system needed support, rather than (further) large-scale reform. A second possibility is that the MSF *did* represent an extension of the earlier reforms on similar neo-liberalist principles. As noted in Chapter 5, New Labour regarded the Standards Fund as a way of channelling additional funding directly to schools and local authorities to support key policy objectives.

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<sup>66</sup> A possibility noted by Finney (2011) is that the implementation of the recommendations of the NACCCE were not given full consideration by education ministers due to a contemporaneous pre-occupation with raising literacy standards.

Critically, in the case of the MSF, however, it left the details of how these objectives were to be achieved to each music service. Chapter 1 already highlighted that, since the late 1990s, the targeted delivery of resources at particular, small-scale areas has been a common feature of government policy. In a review of the literature on ‘neighbourhood governance initiatives’, Pill (2007) notes that the trend towards local devolution has been understood by some as part of a neo-liberalist tendency to ‘promote ‘community’ as a compensatory mechanism for the inadequacies of the market mechanism’ (Jessop, 2002: 454-55, quoted in Pill, 2007: 17), there to ‘mop up the ill-effects of the market and to provide the conditions for its continued operation’ (Levitas, 2000: 194, quoted in Pill, 2007: 17). The argument, Pill concludes:

that deprivation... undermines economic competitiveness can also be interpreted as justification for social policy interventions in a neo-liberal context, such as area-based initiatives, rather than as a dismissal of these areas (2007: 18).

The idea that the MSF should be channelled directly to music services in order that they might identify their own priorities and initiatives, but that these should then be subjected to external assessment by Ofsted and ministerial-appointed researchers can thus itself be seen as part of a broader imposition of a neo-liberal political agenda (c.f. Ball, 2006). Leaving the politics aside, however, when regarded from the point of view of the researcher, the available Ofsted inspection and good practice reports and various IoE surveys (also the annual NMC Music Service Award adjudications) *do* facilitate a reasonably robust assessment of the national impact of the MSF. However, they do not allow us to gain an assessment of what the impact was at a more detailed, local level. If we accept the view that the MSF was channelled directly to music services ostensibly to enable them to make decisions appropriate to the needs of the local communities, then such an assessment becomes essential (see de Castro, 2007). Music services had always made decisions this way but, in many cases, they now also had access to unprecedented levels of relatively secure funding in order to put these ideas into practice.

Chapter 5 suggested that in *some* ways, and in *some* places, music services were successful in applying the MSF to address *some* long-standing hidden

barriers to their provision. As we will see in Chapter 7, the music service of the case study local authority could certainly be described as having been particularly proactive in both the acquisition and application of MSF money. It is for this reason that it was characterised in Chapter 2 as a ‘deviant’ case. Chapter 4’s conclusion was that many of the most pernicious hidden barriers are tightly-interrelated, often ameliorated through the application of a range of economic, social and cultural resource boosters. Thus, a key objective of the deviant case study is to establish whether higher-than-average MSF allocations and stated policy commitments toward musical and social inclusion were effective in tackling these more pernicious hidden barriers.

After an introduction to the case study local authority and its music service in Chapter 7, Chapters 8 and 9 collectively seek to address research question 4. Chapter 8 gives an overview of music service participation in the case study local authority between September 2003 and November 2010. It draws upon a range of geospatial statistical tests in an attempt to identify pertinent relationships between the take-up of this participation and prevailing socio-economic, demographic and environmental factors. Chapter 9 reports on the construction of OLS regression models intended to explore these relationships in more depth.

Two methodological matters should be noted at this point.

Firstly, the seven-year period between 2003 and 2010 is the focus for the case study for two reasons. The first, practical reason is that this was the period for which the case study music service had more accurate records of tuition. Following encouragement from Ofsted’s (2002) good practice survey, and in common with many other music services at the time, the case study authority invested in bespoke arts education administration software *Paritor* (2010) in April 2003. Data had formerly been stored on an *ad hoc* basis using *Microsoft Excel* and was not suitable for analysis. Subsequently, November 2010 became the end-point for the data period as this was the inception of this research project. The second reason is that 2003-10 was a period of relative stability, where the impacts of the MSF can be considered with reduced (yet far from entirely absent) interference from national politics. 2003

marked the MSF's fifth year of operation. Both nationally and within the case study the resulting developments in provision were well 'bedded in' by this point. In contrast, by November 2010 the MSF had less than one year left to run in its rebadged form as the 'Music Education Grant'. By this point, there is evidence that music services were making preparations that would help them 'weather the storm' of coming funding cuts, widely regarded as inevitable. In some cases, this had already led to the reduction and refocusing of provision. Moreover, with the subsequent arrival of the 'hub era' and the associated further devolution of provision to schools and other hub partners, it may well be that centrally-held, pupil-level data such as that which provides the basis for the case study became a thing of the past. For instance, ACE subsequently required lead hub partners to report data using a different methodology (see Sharp, 2015; ACE, 2015).

A second methodological consideration relates to the theoretical assertion that many of these resource boosters are interrelated manifestations of social reproduction. Specifically, it is acknowledged that many of the proxy variables used to represent these barriers and boosters may also be similarly interrelated. From a statistical point of view, this can create issues relating to 'multicollinearity' and this matter is considered in more detail as the case study progresses.

## **Chapter 7 - Introducing the case study local authority and its music service**

### **Introduction**

The case study findings presented in subsequent chapters are drawn from instrumental tuition data accrued by one local authority music service (the ‘case study local authority’) between September 2003 and November 2010. The identity of the local authority remains anonymous, but it is still important to contextualise these findings as far as possible<sup>67</sup>. Therefore, the first section below gives a brief description of the authority within seven key areas, each pertaining to one or more of the hidden barriers identified in Chapter 4.

The period covered by the case study data was bookended by the 2001 and 2011 UK-wide censuses and the contextual profile offered here uses ‘headline’ data from both censuses to help contextualise the research findings which follow. By contrast, later chapters are based only on 2001 data because equivalently detailed, geocoded data from 2011 had not been released by the time of the analysis.

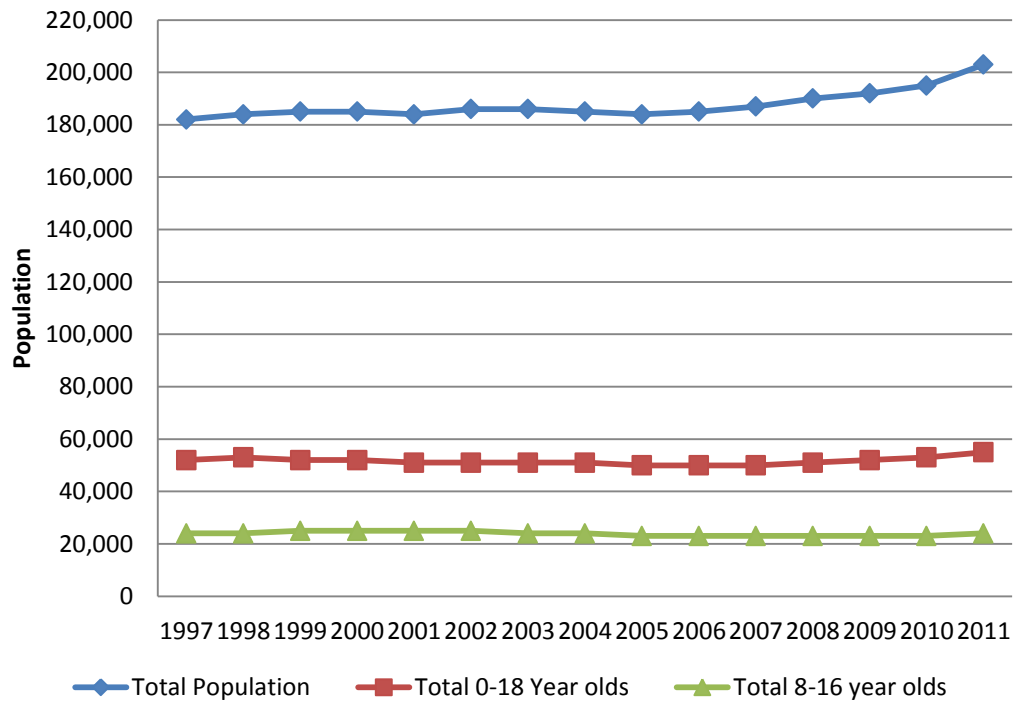
### **The case study local authority**

The case study local authority is situated within an urban area of England. Its area takes in one of the largest, socio-economically and ethnically diverse towns in the region. Figure 7.1 gives the authority’s population around the period of time covered by the case study data. There was an overall increase towards the end of the time period (from 182,000 to 203,000) and this was reflected slightly in the under-18 population. Nonetheless, the 8-16 population—the target client group of the authority’s music service—remained very stable ( $\mu \approx 23,800$ ;  $\sigma \approx 700$ ).

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67 As noted in Chapter 2, references to publications and documents that would identify the case study local authority if their full title or authors were openly cited have been anonymised in accordance with IoE referencing guidelines (UCL, 2015).





**Figure 7.1:** Population summaries for the case study local authority: 1997 (when the authority came into being) to 2011 (to include the 2011 census results). Figures have been rounded to the nearest thousand to facilitate anonymity. Data for 2001 and 2011 from UK Censuses (UK Data Service, 2015). Other data from Mid-Year Population Estimates (ONS, 2015).

### *Ethnic diversity*

Until recently, the local authority had an international reputation as a major manufacturing area, with particular concentrations of automotive, aeronautical and household equipment production. Successive waves of economic migration helped meet the labour requirements of these industries, resulting in the town becoming an ever more diverse community (Historian, 1993). The 1950s witnessed an increase in Irish-born residents, followed by people born in the Caribbean in the 1960s. In the 1970s the largest immigrant groups were people from Pakistan and Bangladesh. More recently, significant numbers of people from the Former Yugoslavia, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Central and Eastern Africa have increased the ethnic diversity of the area still further (Case Study Local Authority, 2003a). Table 7.1 gives an indication of the ethnic breakdown of the authority's population over the first decade of the twenty-first century. What this table does not convey is that the school-age population was more diverse than the population as a whole within this period, with 41.5% from BAME backgrounds, including 24% from Pakistani or Bangladeshi origins, and 9.2%

of Black African or Black Caribbean origins (Case Study Local Authority, 2003a).

**Table 7.1** Case study local authority population breakdown by ethnic background (percentages). 2001 and 2011 data sourced from Census data (UK Data Service, 2015), 2007 data from Mid-Year Population Estimates (ONS, 2015).

	Case study local authority			Regional/National comparisons from 2011 Census	
	2001	2007	2011	East of England (Census 2011)	England & Wales (Census 2011)
British	65.0	58.8	44.6	85.3	80.5
Irish	4.6	3.5	3.0	1.0	0.9
Other White	2.3	3.1	7.1	4.6	4.5
White & Black Caribbean	1.3	1.3	1.9	0.6	0.8
White & Black African	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.3
White & Asian	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.6
Other Mixed	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.5	0.5
Indian	4.1	4.3	5.2	1.5	2.5
Pakistani	9.2	10.7	14.4	1.1	2.0
Bangladeshi	4.1	4.6	6.7	0.6	0.8
Other Asian	0.8	1	2.9	1.0	1.5
Black Caribbean	4.2	4.2	4.0	0.6	1.1
Black African	1.7	3.9	4.5	1.2	1.8
Other Black	0.4	0.5	1.3	0.2	0.5
Chinese	0.6	1.8	0.7	0.6	0.7
Other Ethnic Group	0.3	0.7	1.5	0.5	1.0

### *Socio-economic stratification*

With the decline of traditional manufacturing over the past thirty years—and, in particular, the closure of a major local automotive production plant in the early 2000s—the socio-economic landscape has been subject to significant change (Case Study Local Authority, 2001). Growth employers have tended to be those in service economies, business administration, and aviation maintenance. Other larger employers include the local university and a small but growing high-technology sector (Case Study Town Commission on Community Cohesion, 2011). Table 7.2 illustrates how these changes have impacted upon the socio-economic classifications of the working population between the 2001 and 2011 censuses. The number of large employers and higher managerial occupations has reduced though, in other ways, there has been an increase in the number of people whose occupations fall within the ‘ABC1’ classifications traditionally regarded as ‘middle class’ (including the professions, small business owners and technical occupations – see MRS, 2006). The changing economic landscape is further illustrated through the significant rises in self-employment, the numbers of people employed in

'routine occupations' and those in long-term unemployment. Such issues were exacerbated following the 2008 'credit crunch', which was felt particularly harshly and resulted in a large increase in the numbers of people claiming Job Seeker's Allowance (Case Study Town Commission on Community Cohesion, 2011).

**Table 7.2** Percentage of case study local authority population aged 16-74 by socio-economic classification. Data drawn from the 2011 UK Census (Case Study Local Authority, 2013)

Socio-economic classification	% Case Study Local Authority	% East of England	% England and Wales	% Change in case study local authority between 2001 and 2011
Large Employers & Higher Managerial Occupations	1.3%	2.6%	2.4%	-46.3%
Higher Professional Occupations	5.1%	8.3%	7.9%	47.7%
Lower Managerial & Professional Occupations	15.9%	21.7%	20.8%	8.4%
Intermediate Occupations	12.2%	13.9%	12.7%	35.7%
Small Employers & Own Account Workers	8.8%	10.3%	9.4%	58.8%
Lower Supervisory & Technical Occupations	7.1%	7.0%	6.9%	-5.2%
Semi-Routine Occupations	14.1%	14.1%	14.1%	17.4%
Routine Occupations	13.0%	10.5%	11.1%	45.0%
Never Worked	7.7%	2.6%	3.9%	68.1%
Long-Term Unemployed	2.2%	1.5%	1.7%	122.0%
Full Time Students	12.6%	7.4%	9.0%	54.7%

### *Income deprivation*

Overall, the area has become more 'deprived' since 2004 on the basis of the Government's Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) (see Chapters 8 and 9, also McLennan *et al*, 2011). In the 2010 edition of the IMD<sup>68</sup>, the authority lay in the most deprived quartile of all local authorities in the country, faring worst in the income deprivation category (Case Study Local Authority, 2015).

Pockets of widely differing economic circumstances were identified: there

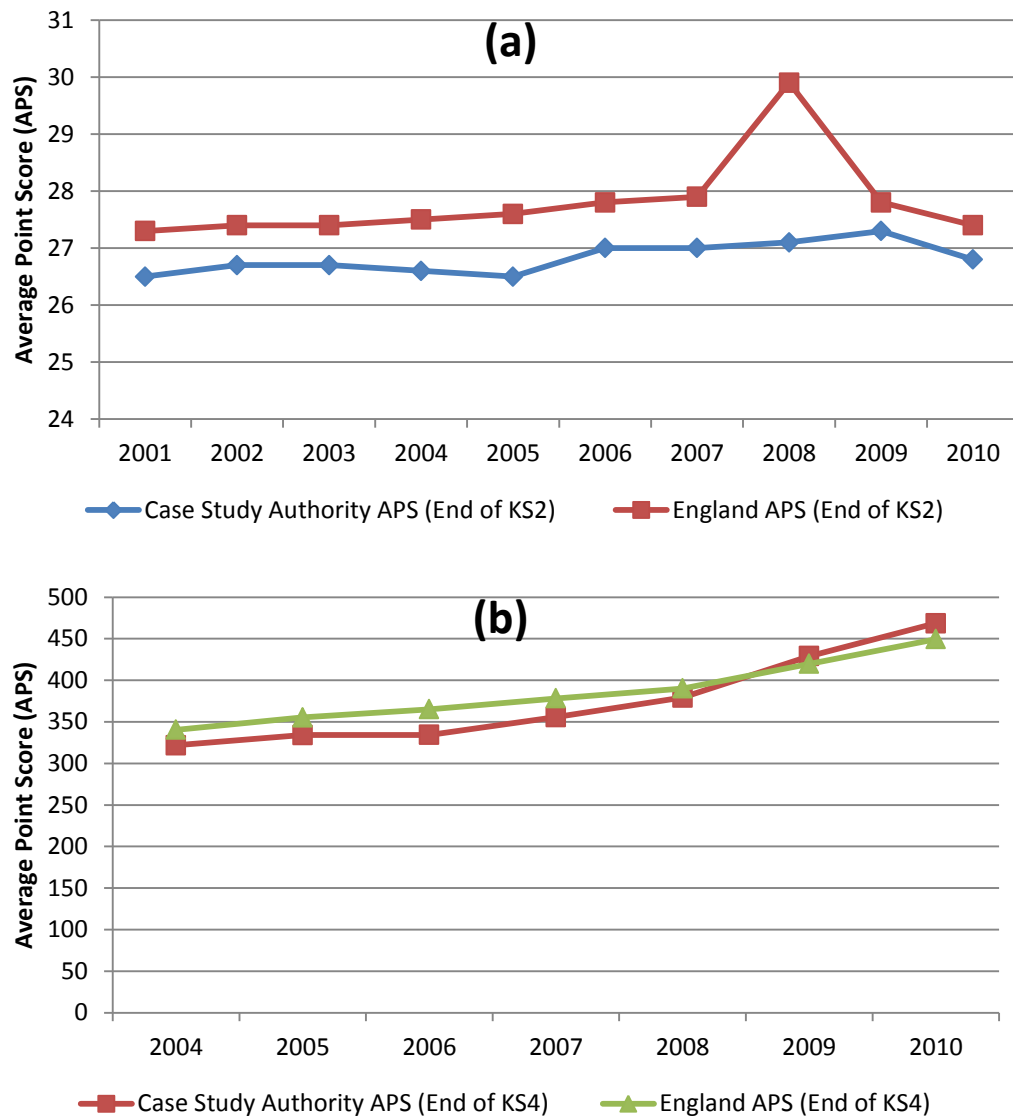
68 Despite its name, data for IMD 2010 was collected during 2008, making this edition the closest to the mid-point of case study period explored in Chapters 8 and 9.

were nine neighbourhoods ranked within the top 10% *most* deprived in the whole country and only one ranked within the top 10% *least* deprived places in the country. Towards the beginning of the case study period, there was evidence of concerning intersectionalities between ethnic and socio-economic background. Higher numbers of people from BAME backgrounds were living in areas suffering higher levels of unemployment and housing deprivation. These areas also tended to have limited access to a full range of local services (Government Agency, 2002).

### *School culture and achievement*

This ethnic and socio-economic diversity has been reflected in school catchment profiles, educational achievement and progression to higher education. At the beginning of the case study period, three of the 12 secondary schools and eight of the 61 primary schools had rolls where 90% were from BAME backgrounds (Case Study Local Authority, 2003b). Five voluntary-aided (VA) faith schools (four primary, one secondary) served the needs of the town's large Catholic community and a further VA primary offered an Anglican ethos. Erroneous perceptions also persisted in some parts of the community that, given the large numbers of pupils from Asian and Black backgrounds, the town also has officially-designated 'Asian' and 'Black' schools (Government Agency, 2002; Case Study Local Authority, 2003b) Pupils' ethnic profiles were, in reality, largely due to the catchment area of each institution, yet some parents apparently based school selection choices on these perceptions, further exacerbating the situation.

School performance at KS2 tended to be slightly under APS national averages (figure 7.2a). (APS is calculated by allocating points to a pupil's results and then averaging these across the cohort (DfE, 2014)). However, secondary school leavers had made up this gap and performance was far closer to national averages towards the end of the case study period (figure 7.2b).



**Figure 7.2a,b** Education achievement data for the case study local authority, along with comparison data for England: (a) end of KS2 and (b) end of KS4 APS. Before 2004, the latter used a different, incomparable methodology.

Towards the beginning of the case study period, there was some evidence that within these headline figures, pupils from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds did less well, but this trend was being addressed over time (Government Agency, 2002). Persistent national trends regarding the lower educational achievement of some African Caribbean pupils were also an ongoing local concern. Between 2007 and 2009 (the earliest period for which local authority level data is available) 32% of 18 and 19 year olds are estimated to have progressed to university (DBIS, 2011). This put the authority directly in the median position for all local authorities in England.

### *Local arts and culture*

The authority's diverse population exerted a significant cultural influence. There was a very rich calendar of festivals and public events, culminating in one of the largest one-day street carnivals in Europe each spring. This was attended by around 150,000 visitors (Case Study Local Authority, 2003a; Case Study Town Commission on Community Cohesion, 2011). There were also seventeen arts, cultural and heritage venues managed by an independent charity with close links to the local authority (Case study town cultural charity, 2015). These were explicitly aimed at the diverse communities in the town and were attended by well over 300,000 visitors each year. The authority was home to an ACE National Portfolio Organisation which provided an international focus for one particular area of the arts but also offered a very wide range of local community outreach programmes (NPO in Case Study Local Authority, 2015).

### *Housing, environment and transport*

Geographically, the authority is set mainly within countryside and farmland (Case Study Local Authority, 2003a). Much of this is subject to various protection orders so that potential for additional development for housing and industry is highly constrained. The net result, combined with the growing population, has been the growth of one of the most densely inhabited areas of the country outside London. At the beginning of the case study period, there was increasing pressure on housing stock (Case Study Local Authority, 2003b). As noted, evidence suggested that some ethnic groups experienced more problems due to poor housing than others.

Transport links to other areas are excellent and the area is served by mainline railway connections and motorway links. Around the end of the case study period, however, there was some evidence that it had been relatively affluent incomers who have benefited particularly from these links, rather than those living in the authority for a longer period (Case Study Town Commission on Community Cohesion, 2011). In contrast, the town's density has meant that there have been considerable problems with road congestion, leading to impacts on the bus network. The latter was particularly significant

since by the end of the case study period, a quarter of households did not have access to a vehicle. This figure was far higher in particularly deprived areas (Case Study Local Authority, 2011a).

### *Community cohesion*

A series of official and third-sector reports have consistently characterised the area as an effective example of community cohesion in the face of very high levels of socio-economic and ethnic diversity (e.g. Government Agency, 2002; Case Study Local Authority, 2003a, 2003b; Case Study Town Commission on Community Cohesion, 2011). Despite the potential for the same community tensions that led to riots in some northern towns and cities in the early 2000s, there have been minimal problems. Moreover, community responses to national and international events, such as the September 2001 attacks on New York, the 2005 London bombings and the global credit crunch of 2008 were marked by the coming together of people from different socio-economic and ethnic backgrounds in solidarity and mutual support (Case Study Town Commission on Community Cohesion, 2011). This has sometimes been despite provocation by minority groups such as the 'English Defence League' and 'Call to Submission' and considerable negative coverage in national media. Two reasons for the level of community cohesion are often cited. Firstly—slightly ironically, given the potentially debilitating effect on the economy and housing—the compact living conditions have been regarded as advantageous, since it is difficult for people of different social, ethnic and cultural backgrounds to avoid each other completely (Ofsted/Audit Commission, 2002). Secondly, the local authority has been praised for alleviating tensions through transparency in the allocation of resources and support of various cultural and religious events (Case Study Town Commission on Community Cohesion, 2011). This proactiveness was very much in evidence during the development of the local authority's music service in 1997.

### **The origins of the case study music service**

The case study local authority attained unitary status in April 1997, ceasing to be part of the surrounding 'ceremonial' county. It became responsible for the

provision of all school-age educational services apart from instrumental music tuition, which followed in September 1997<sup>69</sup>. In the run-up to the new arrangements, the provision of instrumental tuition had already been identified as a 'high profile and priority area' (Education Committee, 1996: 80). Local councillors regarded themselves as having been a 'poor relation' to other areas of the ceremonial county (MA Student, 2006). A specially-convened 'Music Review Group' subcommittee noted in October 1996 that only around 12% of approximately 1,130 pupils attending the ceremonial county's Saturday morning music schools were from the immediate area, with numbers having steadily dropped since charging had been introduced three years before. Similarly, only 12% of around 1,400 pupils attending the county's youth ensembles were local. Only four of the 44 bursaries available to the county's young people to study at junior conservatoires had been allocated to authority residents.

Like other newly-formed unitary councils, the authority had a choice whether to continue to collaborate with the former ceremonial county and thus continue provision on existing lines, or to create a wholly new music service (Ofsted, 2002; Rogers and Hallam, 2010). Reflecting councillors' pro-active stance on equality, diversity and community cohesion, the local authority's Education Committee opted for the latter, outlining a series of basic principles which would underpin the new service. These are summarised as follows:

- Very low termly fees were to be levied directly to parents to ensure that 'pupils from low-income families should not be precluded from learning because of the cost of tuition' (Children and Young People Scrutiny Committee, 2009: 3). An initial 'taster' term of tuition was to be offered to pupils, whose parents would then be asked to pay £10 per term thereafter. Remission of fees was to be available to parents who were in receipt of various state benefits (Education Committee, 1997).
- There would be a particular emphasis on extending and developing musical opportunities in various non-Western music traditions. The

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<sup>69</sup> The slight delay in the formation of the case study authority's own music service was due to a need for existing contracts and devolved funding arrangements between local high schools and the former 'ceremonial county' authority to expire at end of 1996-1997.



Education Committee highlighted the ‘importance of recognising, respecting and valuing the diversity of music and its importance to all the communities in [the Case Study Local Authority]’ (1997: 132).

- The resources of the new music service should be distributed fairly throughout the authority on the basis of the number of pupils attending each school. The Education Committee was keen to end ‘marked inequity’ between different schools and areas of the authority which had built up over many years under previous arrangements with the ceremonial county (Education Committee, 1997: 67).
- A range of local youth instrumental ensembles should be instituted to ‘give expression to a local sense of identity’ and to ‘serve the community and develop a local audience by performing in town events, such as Carnival, School Leavers Service, Town Carol Service and celebrations of other faiths’ (ibid.).

By April 1998, the new service had 1240 instrumental pupils on its books, representing a 43% increase from the old ceremonial county music service (Quality and Performance Sub-Committee, 1998). 108 pupils were attending newly-created Saturday music schools and the local authority’s youth orchestra had 23 members. This growth had come about with a budget of £215,600 and a total of 10 FTE instrumental teaching staff (some had transferred from the ceremonial county and some had been freshly recruited). As hoped, non-Western provision was regarded as strong and growing. The first year had witnessed the development of a steel band and a samba orchestra. Performances had been held at local Mardi Gras celebrations and a musical setting of a famous Gujarati folk story had been staged.

Within this first year of operation, some progress had been made regarding inequities in music service provision between schools but this was hampered by the fact that tuition could not be stopped whilst continuing pupils required it (Quality and Performance Sub-Committee, 1998). Instead, redistribution was being achieved gradually as pupils moved on. Proposals to short-cut this process were in place, but additional local authority funding of around £16,000 was said to be necessary to employ enough additional teachers to

address imbalances in primary schools alone. There was no obvious source of additional income apart from local authority central funds, since concerns were being simultaneously expressed that the low termly parental fees were restricting any further growth in provision.

### **The case study local authority's allocations from the MSF**

It is clear from reviewing internal reports and minutes from the period 1997-98 that the case study local authority was proud of what the new service had achieved, but that it also recognised that significant additional funding was required to meet all the founding aims. By January 1998 the decision had already been taken to increase the 1998-99 budget to £270,000 (Education Committee, 1998). It was, of course, a remarkable and happy coincidence that this was also exactly the same period that initial plans were being drawn up in central government for what would become the MSF (see Chapter 5). Specifically, since allocations from the 27a fund were to be made on the basis of projected spending on instrumental music for 1998-99, the authority regarded itself as being 'well placed to receive enhanced funding because of its previous commitment to music services' (Quality and Performance Sub-Committee, 1999: 3). It was anticipated that the authority would receive MSF funding which matched its own.

In November 1999, the authority submitted a further bid under 27b and received an additional £144,700 for 2000-01. In line with bidding criteria, it matched this with its own funding to create a total 27b allocation of £289,400. Subsequently, there was a further major increase in the authority's total 27b allocation to £590,000 for 2002-03. Thus, by the end of the academic year immediately preceding the time period covered by the case study data, the total music service budget stood at £895,650. Of this total figure, £562,375 came directly from central government, with a further £289,375 being contributed by the local authority as part of the matched funding arrangements for grant 27b. Table 7.3 breaks down the 2002-03 budget in full.

This level of funding from national and local government was exceptional. To put this into perspective, the amount allocated within Table 7.3 for 'equipment' alone (£149,464) was bigger than the *total* MSF grants for fifteen other local authorities for 2002-03 (based on data from HC Hansard, 2008). As can be seen in figure 7.4, the Case Study Local Authority received significantly more funding than neighbouring authorities and was well above the national average per pupil capita allocation from 2000-01 onwards. From 2002-03 this gap became greater still and over the eleven-year history of the MSF, the case study authority received more per pupil capita than any other single local authority in England<sup>70</sup>.

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<sup>70</sup>Whilst the Tees Valley Music Service did receive more from the Standards Fund per (pupil) capita on the basis of figures from HC Hansard (2008), this was because its provision spanned four local authorities: Stockton-on-Tees, Redcar and Cleveland, Hartlepool and Middlesbrough (Hansard, 2003; Tees Valley Music Service, 2011).

**Table 7.3** Case study local authority music service budget for 2002-03. The quoted headings are taken directly from the source document and suggest that the authority was conceiving of their operations in terms closely associated with the official descriptions of the 27a and 27b MSF grants (table adapted from Case Study Local Authority, 2001: 9).

Income		Expenditure	
'Protecting local authority music service'			
Music Standards Fund Grant 27a	£273,000	Staffing Costs	£239,166
		Travel Related	£17,640
		Admin Support	£16,194
'Expanding local authority music service'			
Music Standards Fund Grant 27b: Central Government contribution	£289,375	Staffing	£323,917
Music Standards Fund Grant 27b: Local Authority contribution	£289,375	Travel related	£18,371
		Professional development	£2,000
		Officers' expenses	£2,000
		To support pupils' access to vacation courses run by the ceremonial county	£1,000
		Equipment	£149,464
		Repairs	£8,000
		Out of school music	£36,029
		Projects and festivals	£36,634
'Other'			
Parental fees contribution	£21,000	Educational adviser	£22,900
Local authority 'strategic'	£22,900	Admin support	£4,246
		Partnership arrangements with neighbouring music service	£14,000
		Contingency	£2,754
Total income	£895,650	Total expenditure	£895,650

A business review of the music service in June 2001 concluded that the authority had 'been particularly successful in attracting government funding' (Case Study Local Authority, 2001: 24) and that this had led to 'a period of spectacular expansion' (p.10). This expansion was indeed spectacular by any measure. At its inception in September 1997, the music service employed the equivalent of 8.5 full-time teachers. This had risen to 47 full and part-time staff by June 2001 (Case Study Local Authority, 2001; 2008b). Moreover, the number of young people in receipt of tuition had risen from 1,240 in April 1998 to around 1,920 in June 2001, representing a 55% increase (Quality and Performance Sub-Committee, 1998; Case Study Local Authority, 2001). The two out-of-hours youth ensembles in existence in September 1997 were, by March 2001, augmented by a further fifteen groups covering classical, jazz, rock, pop, folk and world music traditions (Ofsted, 2001; Case Study

Local Authority, 2008b). All of this provision was being managed by a team of four service managers and two administrators (Case Study Local Authority, 2001).



**Figure 7.4** A comparison of the per pupil capita MSF allocations 1999-2011 for the case study local authority, the 'ceremonial county' of which the authority was formerly part, and the authority to the south-east. The national average for all local authorities is also given. School population data is from the 'additional LEA tables' published as part of successive *Schools in England* Reports by the Department for Education (and its predecessors)<sup>71</sup>. Figures include pupils at all maintained primary, secondary and maintained special schools, pupil referral units, city technology colleges and academies. MSF allocations from HC Hansard (2008) and DCSF (2009).

<sup>71</sup> See <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20120504203418/http://education.gov.uk/rsgateway/sc-schoolpupil.shtml>

As noted, such significant expansion was due in part to the local authority having invested considerably at the inception of its music service, and having consequently—if unpremeditatedly—been ‘rewarded’ for this investment with a large allocation from the 1999-2000 27a grant. Moreover, the authority was in the top quartile for free school meal eligibility nationally in June 2001<sup>72</sup>, a statistic that would have been recognised under the MSF FSM deprivation factor, introduced for 2001-02.

Moving beyond financial technicalities, many prominent figures in the musical and educational life of the town also anecdotally attribute the highly fortunate funding arrangements to the local knowledge, financial and political acumen of the founding head of the music service. As a secondary school music teacher in the borough since the mid-1980s (University, 2009), he had worked closely with the former ceremonial county music service (Case Study Local Authority, 2008b). Very well acquainted with the particular socio-economic, cultural and educational needs of the area, his leadership was singled out for praise in March 2001 when Ofsted noted the prominent identity he had given the music service within the local authority (Ofsted, 2001)<sup>73</sup>. Under his guidance, the service was very well-placed to respond proactively to the changes made to the MSF in September 2000. As noted in Chapter, 5, these saw allocations partially based on a series of ‘performance standards’ defined by the DfEE as including ‘equality of access to music, proportion of school population served, teacher development and quality assurance, school partnership and curriculum support, and the development of centres of excellence’ (DfEE, 1999: para. 21).

Evidence for the music service’s success in meeting these standards comes from Ofsted’s March 2001 inspection, undertaken as part of the ‘Protecting and Expanding Music Service’ programme. As noted in Chapter 5, a key

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72 25% of the authority’s young people were eligible for FSM in June 2001 (Case Study Local Authority, 2001). National comparison figures drawn from the school census of January 2001 (DfES, 2001b).

73 The founding head of service’s successes were again recognised upon his retirement in 2009, when the local university awarded him an honorary Master of Arts for ‘his contribution to the musical life of [the local authority], and to music education locally’ (University, 2009: 1).

remit of these inspections was to assess provision in line with the ministerial objectives. With regard to these objectives, the inspection report concluded:

There is very good and effective use of the Standards Fund grant both to maintain and expand the provision. In particular, the following examples illustrate the positive impact of sustaining and developing the service:

- the recruitment of beginners is targeted at Year 4 pupils;
- [the service] has provided many new instruments, together with a loan scheme and a low charge to all pupils for tuition;
- good account has been taken of the individual requests and needs of schools and resources have been distributed effectively;
- the expansion of the service to include workshops, tuition and ensembles in Asian, South American and African music has strengthened the range and quality of the provision;
- establishing tuition for rock and popular music has increased the take-up by schools. This has also extended the range of ensembles available after school, particularly for pupils in the secondary age range;
- several developments are having a positive impact on the professional development of [music service] tutors and of music staff in schools;
- a strong professional network is being established between schools and [the service] and good communication systems support this very well (Ofsted, 2001: 3).

In November 2002 the authority received an 'honourable mention' for stylistic breadth in the NMC's annual *Local Education Authority Music Awards* (NMC, 2002). The same month, a joint inspection of the local authority's community cohesion policy by Ofsted and the Audit Commission praised the town for breaking down socio-ethnic barriers amongst young people through significant investment in musical and cultural educational activities. In the view of the inspectors, these activities collectively constituted a 'determined effort to ensure that diversity is valued' (Ofsted/Audit Commission, 2002: 19).

Yet, despite unprecedented levels of funding, significant expansion and national accolades, levels of uptake from within the local authority population of young people remained comparatively low. The June 2001 business review of the music service found that only 6.05% of the school population



were in receipt of weekly tuition, the third lowest figure amongst six benchmarked local authorities around England. The review concluded that there was 'a clear need to promote the service more vigorously to pupils not receiving music tuition to improve this' and gave staff the target of increasing the figure to 10% over the following two years (Case Study Local Authority, 2001: 25)<sup>74</sup>.

### **Developments in the case study music service between 2003 and 2010**

By the outset of 2003-04 the service was well-established, guided by the following organisational aims:

- to encourage young people to fulfil potential in all areas of music
- to provide instrumental and vocal tuition to pupils in LEA maintained and foundation schools
- to widen opportunity and improve access to music
- to recognise the Borough's diverse cultural heritage
- to increase opportunities for out-of-school music making
- to contribute to school improvement by supporting practical music making in schools
- to celebrate success, commitment and the pursuit of excellence
- to inform the delivery of National Curriculum music in [local authority] schools (Case Study Local Authority, 2001: 12-13).

Throughout the case study data period, tuition was provided on violin, viola, cello, double bass, guitar, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, saxophone, recorder, cornet, trumpet, French horn, trombone, euphonium, tuba, orchestral percussion, drum kit, African drums, dhol, tabla, sitar, harmonium, mandolin, tin whistle, Irish fiddle, banjo, accordion, steel pans, keyboard and voice (both Western and Asian singing traditions). Instruments were provided on free loan from the Service (Case Study Local Authority, 2011b) and an 'assisted purchase' scheme enabled pupils to buy their own instruments at reduced, VAT-exempt prices (Case Study Local Authority, 2007).

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74 In the event, it would be three years before the service achieved this goal, according to the figures presented in Figure 8.2.

The service participated in the Endangered Species programme between May 2004 and September 2005 (Artservice, 2005; Artservice, 2006). Additional stocks of bassoons, oboes, French horns, trombones, tubas (including euphonium), baritone horns, and double basses were purchased and staff arranged for a series of demonstration concerts and ensemble days to promote these instruments in local schools.

Ensemble provision broadened still further during the case study period, growing to embrace a guitar school, female choir, concert band, jazz orchestra, youth orchestra, wind ensemble, steel orchestra, gospel choir, youth musical theatre company and percussion orchestra. Beginner players were catered for through two junior string ensembles and a training wind band (Case Study Local Authority, 2007). In addition to regular ensemble concerts, annual or termly gatherings of instrumentalists of all standards were organised. Some of these ensembles entered into NFMY and mounted international visits (Case Study Local Authority, 2004; Panonthenet.com, 2009). The service also developed strong links with other local musical institutions including the town's concert society, with whom a range of 'master classes' were organised with visiting performing musicians (Music Club Trustees, 2006). Further informal and *ad hoc* collaborations and projects were often mounted with local other educational providers, including the ceremonial county music service, the town's e-learning centre and colleges of further education (Case Study Local Authority, 2007).

Two Saturday morning music schools were in operation over the case study period (MA Student, 2006). These were hosted by a primary school and a secondary school in geographically-separate locations. As of 2006, plans were in place to establish further Saturday music school venues, including one at the local university. The latter was intended to have a non-Western musical focus. In the event, neither additional resource came to fruition and pupils continue to be served by the existing schools, even though it was acknowledged that their locations presented access difficulties for some local young people.

Tuition on non-Western instruments witnessed growth in funding and benefitted from promotional events. As noted, this had always been envisaged as a core focus by the authority's Education Committee. A need to increase provision in this area still further was identified in the 2001 business review (Case Study Local Authority, 2001). This became an objective of the service's development plan for the next three years (Executive Committee, 2002). One means by which this objective was met was through high-profile showcase concerts, attended by local dignitaries (e.g. Case Study Local Authority, 2003c). By 2006, the local authority was planning for a 100% increase in the total amount of teaching time allocated to non-Western instruments from 7 to 14 full-time hours (MA Student, 2006)<sup>75</sup>.

Support for special schools was a further area identified for development by the local authority (MA Student, 2006). As of March 1999, 63 pupils from four special schools were in receipt of instrumental tuition, with a further 11 benefiting from a pilot programme of music therapy. The music club run by the service at one of these schools was described as 'excellent' by Ofsted in March 2001. Yet despite its priority status within the authority, not to mention a strong interest for an increase in music therapy provision amongst local headteachers, this area actually contracted over the course of the case study period. In fact, the analysis in Chapter 8 suggests that, by 2004, there were only 32 special school pupils in receipt of instrumental tuition (figure 8.35), mainly by virtue of their involvement with a one-off collaborative project between the service and one special school. In 2005 one special school pupil received tuition but this figure fell to zero from 2006 until the end of the case study period.

The case study local authority received an additional MSF allocation of £13,500 under grant 116b to support the local roll-out of WO in 2006-07. This was increased to £103,000 the following academic year (Executive Committee, 2006). Following MSF requirements, this money was devolved to

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75 Unfortunately, falling budgets at the end of 2009-2010 resulted in a redundancy programme amongst the authority's peripatetic teaching staff (Case study Local Authority, 2012). The non-Western tutors were affected considerably by this process and so provision was reduced significantly in this area.

schools, which were free to purchase whole class instrumental tuition from any provider. In fact, 83% of primary schools had chosen to buy back this provision from the music service by the beginning of 2008 (Case Study Local Authority, 2008a). As a result of this high take-up, all music service personnel undertook the national training programmes offered by Trinity-Guildhall and the Open University (Case study Local Authority, 2012).

The service's practice during this period was to recruit pupils for individual and small group instrumental tuition in the summer term of Year 3, ready to begin lessons on entry to Year 4. Recruitment was on the basis of school-based demonstration concerts, auditions, discussions with school personnel. These were followed by individual assessments, which covered aural and rhythmic awareness, physical co-ordination, commitment and the ability to absorb and retain new skills (Case Study Local Authority, 2007; Case Study Local Authority, 2011b). Once places had been allocated to incoming Year 4 pupils, the Service filled places with additional recruits from Years 5 and 6, only recruiting new students from Year 7 and above in exceptional circumstances (Case Study Local Authority, 2007). Lessons routinely took place in pupils' schools within the normal school day. The service aimed to provide each pupil with a minimum of thirty, twenty-minute group or individual lessons each academic year. Provision continued to be available until pupils completed their compulsory schooling. However, in a minority of cases the service continued to teach post-16 students attending the borough's further education college and one high school. The local sixth form college made its own arrangements for instrumental and vocal tuition, employing a range of private tutors in addition to 'buying in' selected provision from the case study music service.

Throughout the case study period, the music service levied a termly fee for tuition on parents and carers. This was applicable to all instruments, but not to singing tuition which remained free until September 2007 (when the long-standing legal ambiguity was resolved – see Chapter 5). Fees included ensemble membership, access to the Saturday morning schools and, as noted, free instrumental loans. Following the founding principles, managers

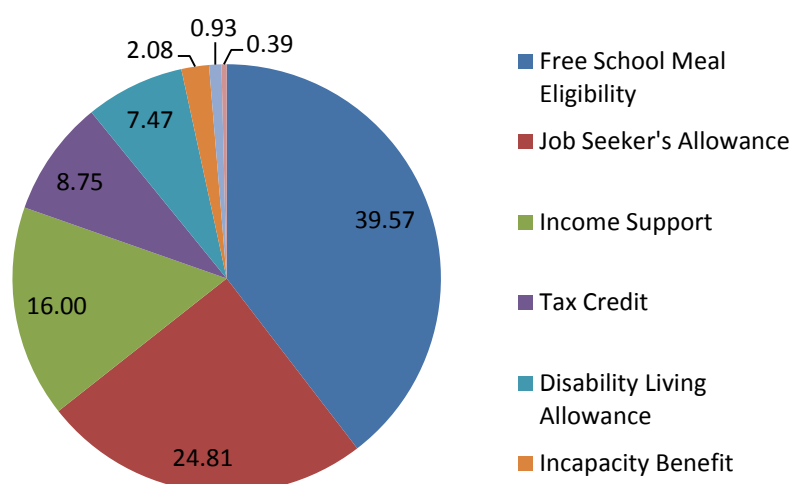
reported that they sought to keep this termly fee as low as possible (Children and Young People Scrutiny Committee, 2009). Fees arrangements were regularly compared with those in neighbouring music services and were found to be both cheaper and simpler to collect (Case Study Local Authority, 2001; Executive Committee, 2006). Unlike many other services, fees were not charged to, or collected via, schools. Instead, there was a direct contract in place between the music service and parents/carers and money was paid directly to the local authority. The 2001 business review found that over 95% of parents/carers of participating pupils felt that the service offered value for money, with 70% stating that the fees were set at the correct level (Case Study Local Authority, 2001).

Following guidance from the Social Inclusion Unit (Children and Young People Scrutiny Committee, 2007), the music service offered 100% fee remittance to pupils whose families were in receipt of the following state benefits:

- Income Support
- Income based Job Seekers Allowance
- Housing or Council Tax Benefit
- Disability Living Allowance (awarded to the child receiving tuition)
- Free School Meals
- Incapacity Benefit
- Pension Credit
- Working Tax Credit or Child Tax Credit (where the gross annual household income was less than £15,592) (Children and Young People Scrutiny Committee, 2009: para. 10).

In the summer term 2006, the families of 151 pupils claimed an entitlement to fee remission (Children and Young People Scrutiny Committee, 2007). Of these, 74% did so on the basis of income-based benefits and 26% on the basis of disability-related benefits. The cost of subsidising these remissions came to just over £18,000. During the 2008 spring term, a total of 352 families claimed. Some of these had more than one child learning with the music service. Figure 7.4 breaks down the 2008 spring term claims by benefit type. In addition, a further 10 pupils were exempt from fees as they were in

the care of the local authority (Children and Young People Scrutiny Committee, 2009).

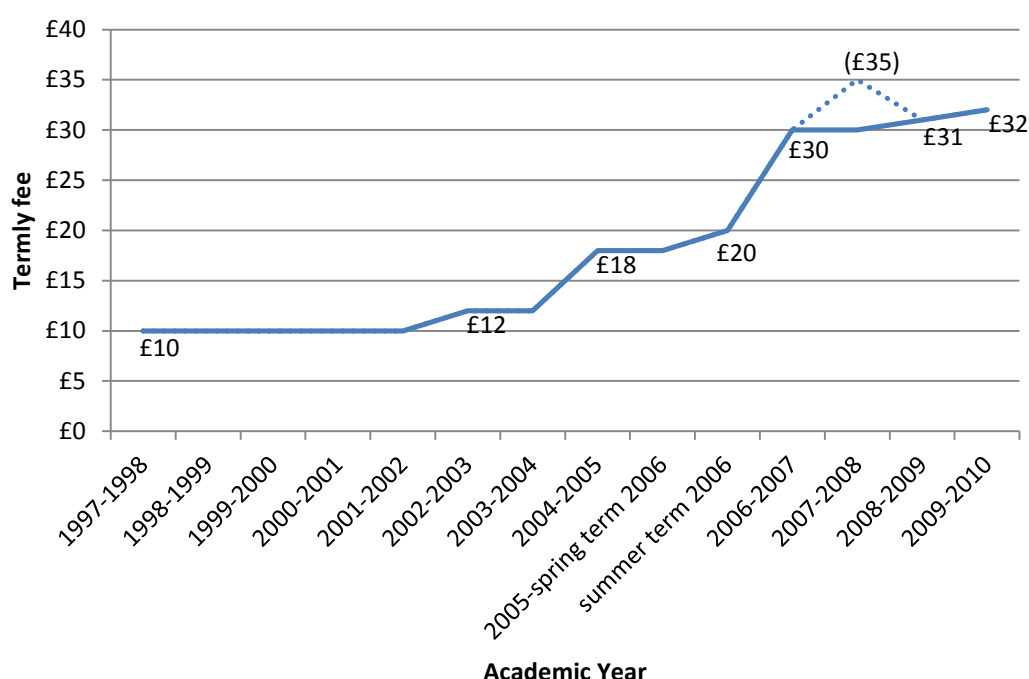


**Figure 7.4** A percentage breakdown of types of remissions granted in the spring term 2008. A total of 352 families were claiming at this point. Data drawn from Children and Young People Scrutiny Committee (2009).

Figure 7.4 confirms that free school meal eligibility was the biggest single reason for claiming fee remission. This suggests that extra funding received via the MSF's FSM deprivation factor would have been highly applicable. A quarter of the claims for fee remission were made on the basis of receiving Job Seeker's Allowance. As noted earlier in this chapter, by 2008 the number of people claiming this benefit locally had increased sharply due to recession-related unemployment.

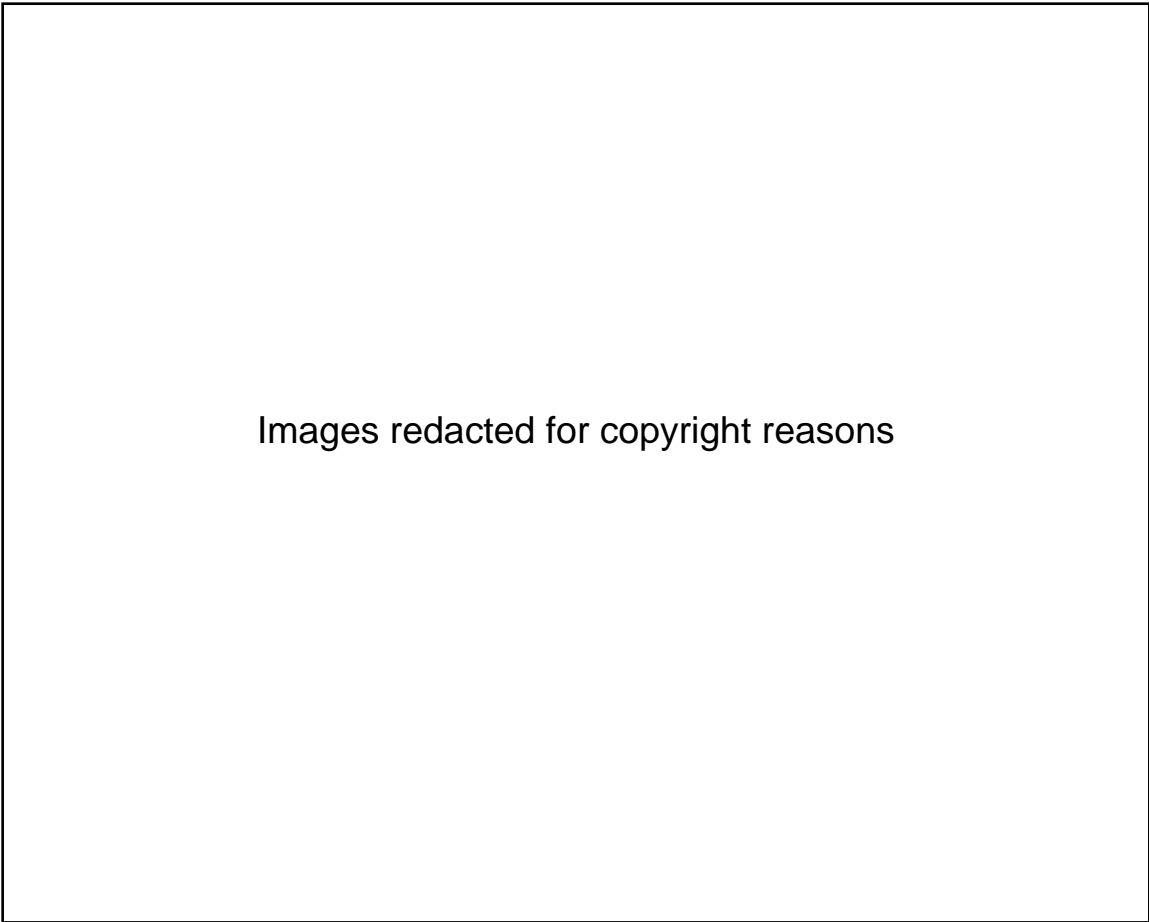
Pupils taking GCSE Music within local high schools were also entitled to 100% fee remission for a first instrument, in line with statutory requirements stemming from ERA. This resulted in 94 and 68 pupils receiving free tuition in 2006-07 and 2007-08 respectively (Executive Committee, 2007; Children and Young People Scrutiny Committee, 2009). These pupils were still, however, asked to pay membership fees if they wished to also attend Saturday morning music schools and out-of-school ensembles. This was because these activities were not deemed to constitute a course requirement (Case Study Local Authority, 2007).

Figure 7.5 plots increases in termly parental fees between 1997 and 2010 and it is clear that these began to rise regularly from 2002-03 onwards. Two increases during 2005-06, along with the prospect of a further 50% increase to £30 in September 2006, were met with concern amongst pupils, parents/carers, local schools and elected councillors (e.g. figure 7.6). Whilst in the end it proved possible to retain the 100% remission for families in receipt of benefits, particular concerns were expressed regarding families where more than one child was in receipt of tuition. Reflecting national concerns at this time (see Chapter 5), queries were raised about pupils whose families were deemed to fall in the so-called 'poverty trap', narrowly missing out on eligibility for state benefits but nonetheless subsisting on very low incomes (JRF, 1998)<sup>76</sup>. Perhaps as a result, a further £5 rise planned for September 2007 was scaled back to a £1 increase the following year.



**Figure 7.5** Case study music service termly fees levied on parents 1997-2010. (A planned £5 increase in 2007-08 was not implemented.). Figures from Executive Committee (2006) and Case Study Local Authority (2012).

<sup>76</sup> As noted in Chapter 7, Arnot's (2004) investigation of disparities in MSF allocations also identified this group as being particularly vulnerable when fees were increased.



Images redacted for copyright reasons

**Figure 7.6** Case study music service pupil protests in February 2006, following the leaking of information that the local authority was considering reducing its contribution to the service and increasing parental contributions (images from BBC, 2006).

In 2005-06, parental/career fees brought in around £79,000 to the music service, representing around 7% of its total income (Lifelong Learning Scrutiny Committee, 2007). The comparatively large subsequent increase in fees from September 2006 came as a result of the local authority's decision to reduce its annual contribution to the music service by £100,000. This amount—representing approximately 10% of the total music service budget (Executive Committee, 2006) —had previously helped subsidise the *true* cost of tuition significantly. To put matters into perspective, whilst service users and councillors had expressed concerns that fees had reached £30 per term, the *actual* per pupil cost of delivering a term of lessons was, by that time,



£120 (Lifelong Learning Scrutiny Committee, 2007). Moreover, since the Standards Fund grant 116a was fixed without inflationary adjustment, and since the recently introduced grant 116b was devolved to schools, the only way to be sure that the reduction in the authority's contributions could be accommodated without impact on service provision or quality was to gradually increase the fee to parents and carers.

### **Summary and personal reflections**

This chapter has introduced the case study local authority and its music service. It has highlighted that this service benefitted both from strong levels of support from elected councillors, strong strategic leadership and a highly favourable MSF allocation.

As a music teacher working in a 16-19 college within this authority, the high quality musical outcomes of this support, leadership and investment were immediately evident. When I arrived at this college in September 2001, the students then taking A Level Music and Music Technology were amongst the first to have benefitted from the MSF. Furthermore, the initial 'spectacular expansion' within the music service was nearing its end and the service was maturing into a period of stability; as a newcomer, the highly favourable situation I encountered might as well have been in existence for decades, for all I knew. New to teaching, I had little in the way of past experience by means of comparison. Thus, on reflection, I realise that I probably accepted this untypical situation without too many questions. It quickly became absorbed into my habitus, as it may have done with many of my local colleagues, not to mention students and their families. I was blessed to teach some wonderful young musicians, whose instrumental expertise had driven very strong levels of achievement for GCSE Music within local high schools. Correspondingly, our A Level courses also exhibited strong levels of recruitment and achievement. Subsequently, many students progressed to musical study at university or conservatoire. As a result, I would argue that within the local music education field, the unusual 'rules of the game' within our local music education field had rapidly become doxic.

It is possible to identify a similar phenomenon at a national level around the same time. It is not a coincidence that the majority of the literature dealing with specific impacts of the MSF itself comes from the first half of the scheme's existence. Specifically, following the announcement of the scheme's extension in June 2004, references to specific uses and impacts of the MSF tend to become far less frequent in the literature. By this point, Ofsted's inspection programme had completed, the scheme was well-established and music services had been reassured it would be in existence for a further four years at least. As such, it was becoming an ever more familiar part of the 'ecology' of the music education world and may simply have been deemed less worthy of explicit comment. Again, then, there is evidence that in substantially less than a decade, the contribution of the MSF to the work of music services had become doxic.

Locally, this situation only changed when the local authority followed the national trend (see Chapter 5) and reduced its own subsidy of the music service by £100,000 in 2005-06. As noted above, the prospect of the attendant fee increases came as a shock to many local families, professionals and many councillors. The resulting local debate served to raise consciousness about which sections of the community might and might not be able to absorb these increases. Whilst such a sudden hike in fees was probably always likely to be received in this way, it is significant, in retrospect, that the incomparably low termly fees enjoyed for the previous nine years had passed with far less comment. In essence, it took this increase for the doxic nature of the existing arrangements to be overcome, and for questions to begin to be asked about the system as a whole.

With regards to my own situation, a similar implicit acceptance of the prevailing state of affairs meant that it also took some time to begin to notice that pupils tended to come from the same small subgroup of local high schools, and from the same areas of the town. In hindsight, considerable homogeneity amongst our students, with regards to patterns of ethnicity, instrumental and stylistic preference, was no doubt too easily obscured. My

own consciousness raising with regards to these issues came about through the coincidence of the local debate about termly fees with my work as a geospatial researcher on the London conservatoire outreach project described in Chapter 1.

In essence, then, Phase 2 of this research was a response to the professional reflexivity that sprang from this coincidence of personal, professional and community factors. The chapters that follow employ geospatial tests and develop OLS regression models in order to assess the extent to which these propitious circumstances resulted in the amelioration of the hidden barriers identified in Phase 1 at a very local level. They will also explore the impacts of changes in local policy and prevailing fee level over the course of the case study period.

## **Chapter 8 - Overview of music service participation in the case study local authority, 2003 to 2010**

### **Introduction**

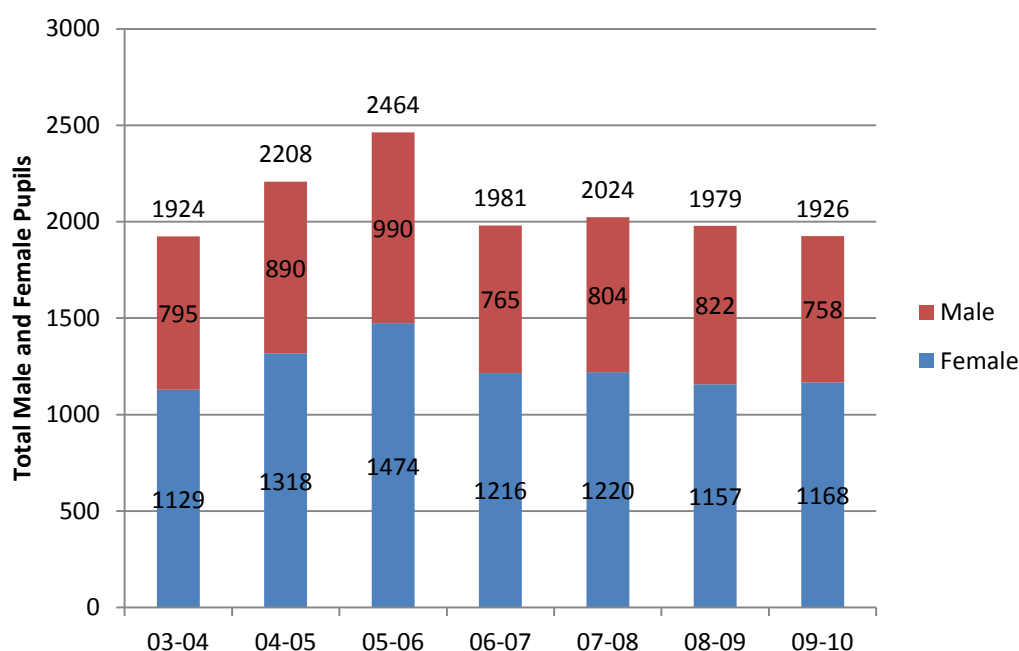
As noted in Chapter 2, the case study music service provided access to 12,448 instrumental tuition records covering the previous seven academic years. A clustering process (see Appendix 2) revealed that these records were, in reality, associated with 6,350 individual young people (on the basis of distinct combinations of birth date, gender and ethnicity). Collectively, these data provide a very detailed picture of the ‘core’ (i.e. non-WO) provision within the case study local authority between September 2003 and November 2010. This chapter provides a demographic and geospatial overview of this data and is intended to inform the OLS regression analysis which follows. In order to place the case study authority within its broader context, findings are compared with national data where available (e.g. Ofsted, 2004b; Hallam *et al*, 2005; Burgess *et al*, 2006).

### **Geographical and chronological distribution of music service pupils**

Records for 6292 pupils within the case study data featured valid postcodes, allowing accurate geocoding of their home locations. Although, over 95% (6063) of these pupils were found to be residents of the case study authority, minorities lived in surrounding areas. In much of the following analysis, only the pupils living within the main case study borough are included. Since those living outside this area were residents of other local authorities (and were thus theoretically also served by that authority’s music service), it would have been unrepresentative to include these pupils, or the areas in which they lived, in the analysis.

Many case study pupils undertook tuition on more than one instrument. Some ceased tuition on one or more instruments, only to restart later on. This complexity is addressed in the analysis through the concept of the ‘tuition episode’, defined as a discrete period of tuition on a particular instrument. Thus, a pupil who ceased tuition on an instrument only to restart on the same

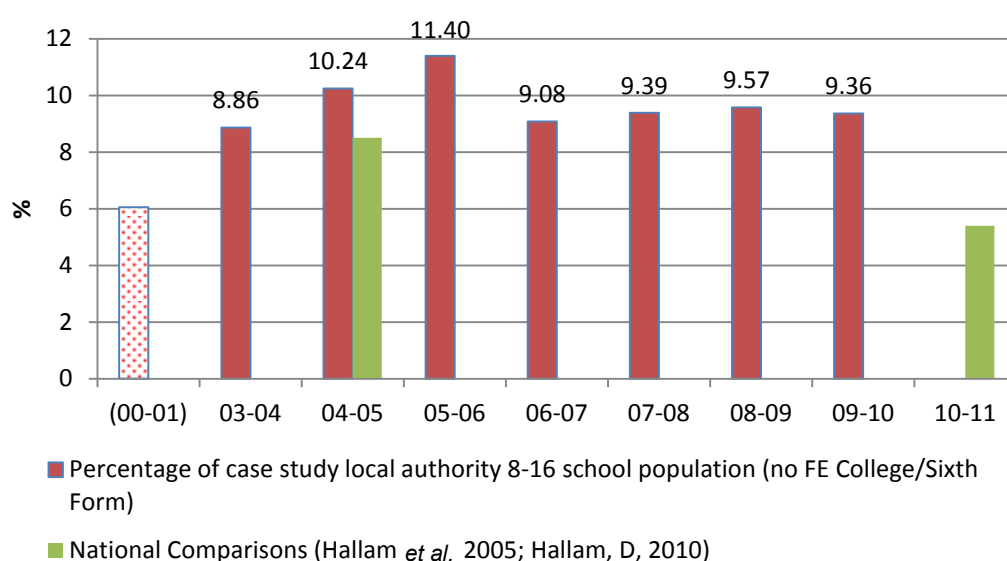
instrument later on would generate two distinct tuition episodes. Since the beginning and end dates of each pupil's tuition episode(s) were known, it was possible to calculate the total number of pupils receiving tuition each academic year from 2003-04 to 2009-10. These totals are presented in figure 8.1, where they have been further broken down by gender.



**Figure 8.1** Total numbers of pupils in case study data, by gender, by year (n=6350, all areas).

Figure 8.1 reveals a noticeable bias towards female participation. Over the seven academic years, female pupils outweighed their male counterparts 59.9% to 40.1%. Almost identical national gender ratios were reported by both Ofsted (2004b) and Hallam *et al* (2005). In order to assess whether this balance varied spatially across the case study authority, a gender ratio (Schwab *et al*, 2013) was calculated for each of its 121 LSOAs. However, a Moran's *I* test revealed no statistically significant level of spatial autocorrelation, suggesting that local variations in the gender ratio were due to random fluctuation and not to any systematic clustering. In order to avoid problems associated with the MAUP, an equivalent test was conducted at the output level. This was also statistically non-significant.

With pupils living outside the bounds of the local authority excluded, it was possible to calculate the numbers in receipt of tuition each year as a percentage of the authority's resident 8-16 school population (as noted in Chapter 7, the target age range of the case study music service was 8 to 16 years). As can be seen in figure 8.2, the total figure for 2004-05 is a little above the national comparison from Hallam *et al* (2005). By the end of the case study period, local participation in 'core' provision was well above national levels (i.e. once WO provision is omitted) (Hallam, D, 2010, and also see figure 5.1).



**Figure 8.2** Percentage of the case study authority 8-16 school population in receipt of music service tuition 2003/04-2009/10<sup>77</sup> (n=6063, based on case study local authority residents only). An equivalent figure for 2000-01 (in lighter red texture) was given in Case study local authority (2001) and offers a glimpse of the situation before the case study data period.

Calculating 'snapshots' of participation in *each* LSOA and in *each* academic term offered a very detailed means of exploring how the number of young people in receipt of tuition varied over both time and space. The level of termly participation within each LSOA was called the 'Service Reach Location Quotient' (SRLQ). This gave an accurate representation of the proportion of young people in each LSOA who engaged with music service tuition each term. National comparison data for these calculations came from Hallam *et al*

<sup>77</sup> School population data is derived from local authority-level tables, published as part of the January school census statistical returns published annually by the ONS as part of their 'Schools, pupils and their characteristics' volumes.

(2005). Following the general methodology outlined in Chapter 2, this was calculated using equation 8.1:

$$SRLQ = \frac{p_{tuition} \div p_{all}}{P_{Hallam} \div P_{all}} \quad (8.1)$$

Here  $p_{tuition}$  refers to all young people receiving tuition in an LSOA, and  $p_{all}$  refers to all young people aged 8-16 in that LSOA at the time of the 2001 census (table CS001)<sup>78</sup>.  $P_{Hallam}$  refers to the total number of young people in KS2-KS4 receiving instrumental tuition nationally on February 1<sup>st</sup> 2005 (Hallam *et al*, 2005: 99).  $P_{all}$  refers to the total school population aged 7-16 in England in January 2005 (SFR42/2005, Table 14). Whilst  $p_{all}$  only includes figures for the number of eight to sixteen-year-olds (in line with service recruitment policies),  $P_{all}$  necessarily also includes those who would be aged eight in the academic year. This is to ensure it is an appropriate denominator for  $P_{Hallam}$ , which includes the whole of KS2.

SRLQ scores were calculated for *each* of the LSOAs within the borough, and for *each* of the 21 academic terms in the case study data period. Representing this amount of time-sequence data on a single, two-dimensional map is not possible and so instead figure 8.3 plots SRLQ scores for each LSOA averaged over all 21 terms (these average scores are referred to as SRLQ(L), where 'L' is for 'location'). Those LSOAs coloured increasingly dark red represent SRLQ(L) scores of >1, indicating that the proportion of young people in receipt of instrumental tuition locally was greater than the proportion in the national population. LSOA coloured increasingly dark blue represent mean SRLQ(L) scores of <1. These indicate that the proportion of local young people in receipt of instrumental tuition was less than the proportion in the national population. SRLQ(L) scores ≈1 are represented by shades of yellow, indicating that the proportion of young

<sup>78</sup> Whilst it was collected some time before case study data period, census data was found to be the only accurate source of population data categorised by age *and* geocoded at the LSOA level.

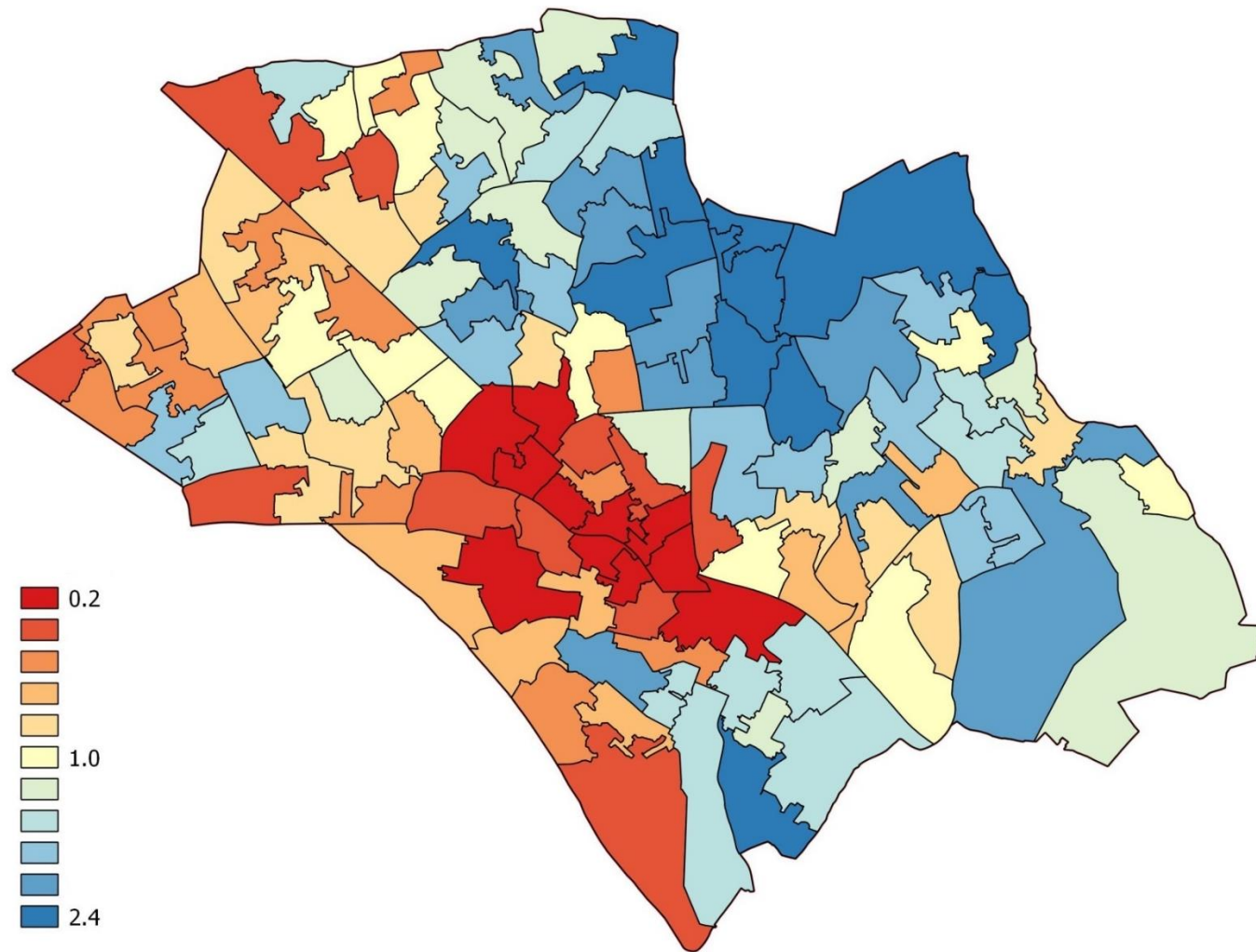
people receiving tuition locally was in line with the equivalent national proportion.

A Moran's  $I$  test confirmed the presence of spatial autocorrelation in the SRLQ(L) scores ( $I = 0.55$ ;  $p < 1 \times 10^{-15}$ ). A confirmatory Moran's  $I$  test at the OA level also produced a statistically significant result ( $I = 0.24$ ;  $p < 1 \times 10^{-15}$ ). This autocorrelation is readily evident in figure 8.3. Taken together, these values for  $I$  indicate that such strong spatial autocorrelation was not likely to be due to chance variation or to the MAUP. Overall, it appeared that the local authority was effectively 'bisected' by a line extended from the north-west tip to the south-east side. This 'line' is, in fact, a major inter-city railway, prompting reminiscence of the old adage about 'living on the wrong side of the tracks':

In 19th- and early-20th-century America, railroad tracks divided a city or town. On one side was the middle- and upper-class residential and commercial area. On the other were factories and residential shacks and tenements. Since residents of the former made class distinctions and applied appropriate language, anyone from the other part of town came from the wrong side of the tracks (Price, 2011: online).

Given that matters relating to socio-economic status were so prevalent in Chapter 4's review of hidden barriers, it was important that this observed spatial distribution was explored in detail.





**Figure 8.3** Choropleth map of SRLQ(L) for each LSOA within the case study local authority (n=6063)

Figures 8.1 and 8.2 indicate that the number of young people in receipt of case study music service tuition rose from 2003-04 until 2005-06. From 2006-07 onwards the number declined, remaining roughly in line with the 2003-04 figure for the rest of the case study period. In order to enable the exploration of these fluctuations at a finer level, an average SRLQ score was calculated for *all* LSOAs for *each* term. This was called SRLQ(T) ('T' for 'time' or 'term') to differentiate it from the SRLQ(L) discussed above (figure 8.4 illustrates how SRLQ(L) and SRLQ(T) were calculated differently). SRLQ(T) scores provide a summary of overall music service participation each term and have been plotted on the left axis in blue in figure 8.5. The prevailing termly tuition fee has been plotted on the right axis in red.

LSOA Zonecode	Term 1 (Autumn 2003)	Term 2 (Spring 2004)	Term 3 (Summer 2004)	Term 4 (Autumn 2004)	Term 5 (Spring 2005)		Term 21 (Summer 2010)
E02000001	0.5434	0.0660	0.654	0.7124	0.6744		0.5384
E02000002	0.5756	1.5859	0.3056	0.9515	0.6072		1.1894
E02000003	0.1869	1.9625	0.3738	1.8819	0.6986		1.5130
E02000004	0.6630	1.37068	0.6140	1.1488	0.4182		2.6337
E02000005	0.1982	1.0495	1.8599	0.6360	0.2248		1.1488
E02000121	0.5947	0.5406	0.8109	0.8102	0.6487		0.5947

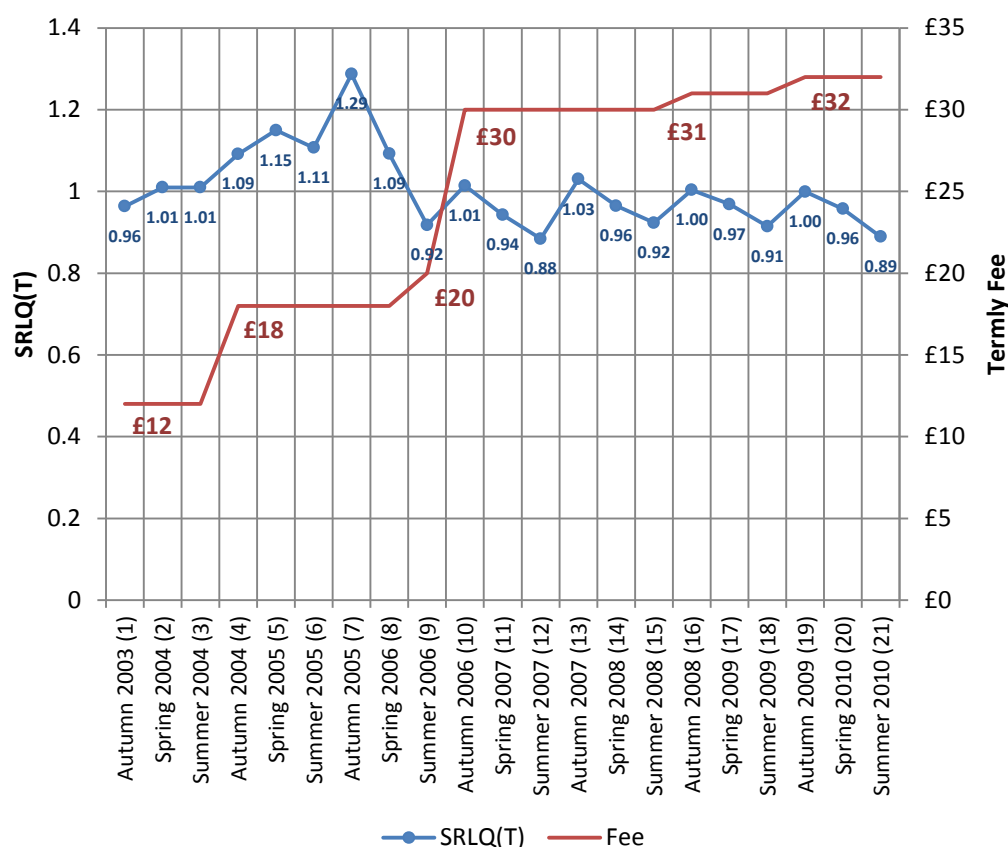
**SRLQ(L)** (points to the Term 21 column)

**SRLQ(T)** (points to the Term 2 column)

**Figure 8.4** A graphical illustration of how SRLQ(T) and SRLQ(L) were calculated from individual SRLQ scores. SRLQ(T) and SRLQ(L) are summary measures, representing the average participation in each term, and in each LSOA respectively. For confidentiality purposes, all data in this figure is fictitious.

A cursory inspection of the plotted SRLQ(T) scores reveals a 'saw tooth' pattern. This can be attributed to the result of peak levels of recruitment and lesson commencement each autumn, followed by some pupils subsequently ceasing tuition over the course of the remaining two terms of the academic year. The pattern is more noticeable from the Autumn term 2006 onwards although it can still be discerned to a lesser extent in earlier periods. A

generally upward trend in participation between Autumn 2003 and Spring 2005 is arrested slightly in the summers of 2004 and 2005. From 2006 onwards, the annual, autumn ‘tips’ of the saw tooth take SRLQ(T) near to 1.0, indicating a close correspondence between the proportion of young people in receipt of music service tuition locally and the equivalent proportion in the national population.



**Figure 8.5** SRLQ(T) scores, plotted against prevailing termly fees.

Comparing the red and blue trend lines in figure 8.5 suggests that the autumn 20004 fee increase (from £12 to £18) did not result in a reduction in average participation within the case study authority. Tuition take-up continued to grow in what was a very fruitful period of recruitment. However, a significant drop in participation occurs at the close of 2005-06. Here, the summer low point in participation is associated with two further increases in fees, first to £20 and then to £30. The £1 increase in autumn 2008 also

seems to have been accompanied by a further, smaller reduction in average participation.

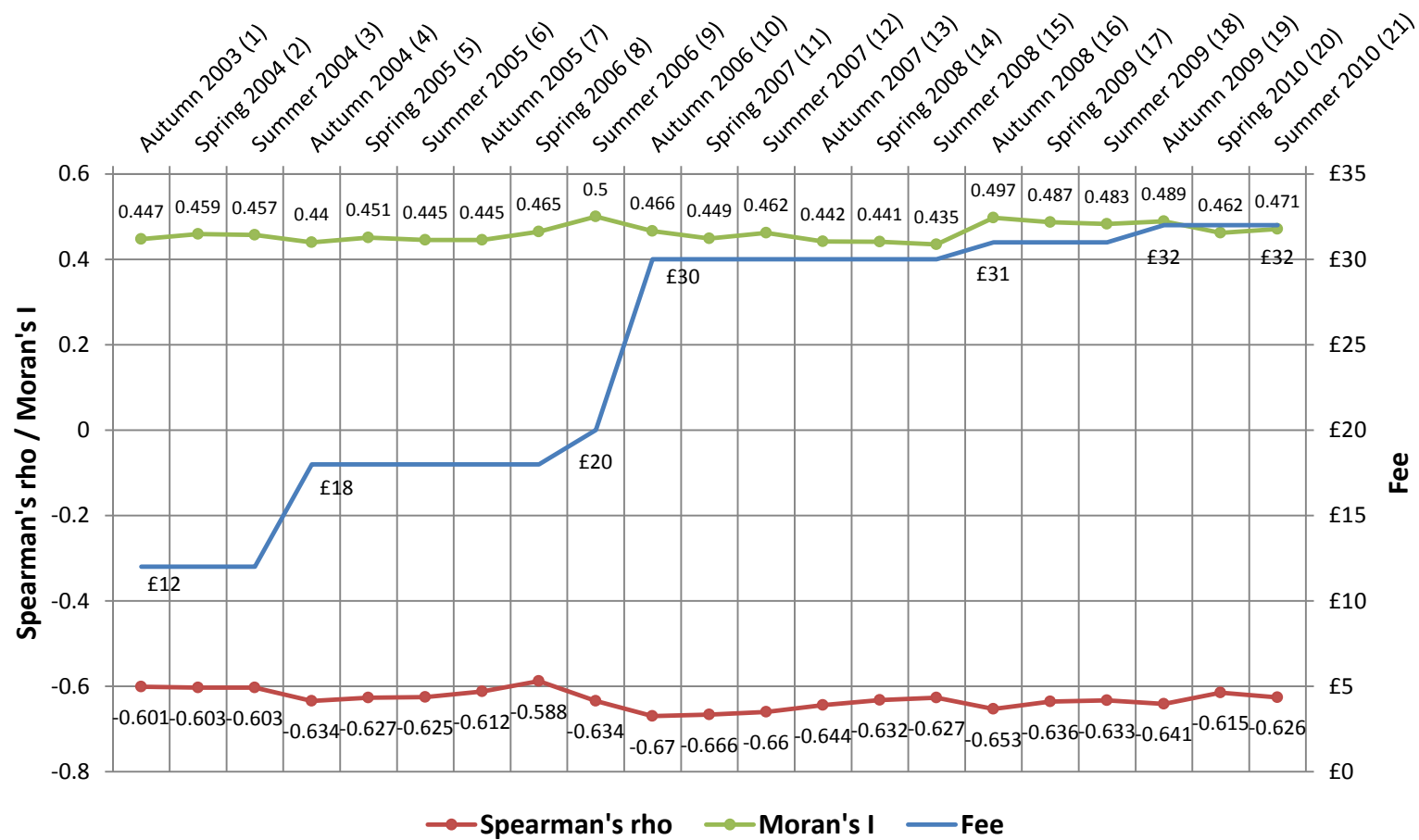
Given that tuition fees were identified as a prominent hidden barrier to participation in phase 1 of the research, it was important to establish formerly the degree of correlation between average participation and prevailing tuition fee. Furthermore, given the strong level of spatial autocorrelation observed in figure 8.3 and the associations with life 'on the wrong side of the tracks', it was also important to establish whether this correlation might vary spatially, in line with known levels of income deprivation. Chapter 7 introduced the IMD as a means of assessing deprivation (on the basis of several integrated measures or 'domains') in each English LSOA. These measures are discussed more extensively in Chapter 9, but, here use is made of the 'income deprivation domain' to provide an assessment of the number of families in each LSOA experiencing unemployment or low-pay.

Two simple statistical tests were applied in tandem. First, Spearman's  $\rho$  values were calculated to assess correlation between SRLQ(T) and IMD income deprivation in each LSOA. On the basis of figure 8. 5, it was expected that any statistically significant correlation would be negative (i.e. levels of participation in an LSOA *decreased* as levels of income deprivation *increased*). It was further expected that these negative correlations would become stronger at points when the termly fees increased (i.e. those living in more income deprived areas might be disproportionately affected by these increases). In the second test, a set of values for Moran's  $I$  was calculated to highlight any changes in spatial autocorrelation in SRLQ(T) as each academic term progressed. The hypothesis here was that one might expect to observe higher values for  $I$  as LSOAs in the case study authority became more 'polarised' into areas of more and less participation. It was further hypothesised that any increase in this polarisation would coincide with points when fees increased.

Figure 8.6 plots the results of both of these tests (on the left axis) against the level of the prevailing tuition fee (on the right axis). As expected,  $\rho$  was

consistently negative (with values ranging from -0.588 to -0.67). This confirmed the existence of a generally-negative correlation between the level of income deprivation in an LSOA and the level of music service participation in that LSOA. The negative relationship strengthens (from -0.603 to -0.634) between the summer and autumn terms of 2004, coinciding with a fee increase from £10 to £18. Throughout this period, the associated Moran's  $I$  figures vary only slightly, remaining  $\approx 0.44$ . It is, of course, clear that values of this magnitude for  $I$  *already* indicate considerable levels of spatial autocorrelation, suggesting that, in general, SRLQ(T) scores cluster into areas of higher and lower levels of participation. However, pronounced changes in both  $I$  and  $\rho$  occur in 2006 ( $I$  peaks at 0.5 and  $\rho$  dips to -0.67). These changes coincide with fee increases to £20 and then to £30. Both  $\rho$  and  $I$  then witness slight, gradual decreases in strength. Subsequently, smaller peak levels in both statistics ( $I=0.497$ ;  $\rho=-0.653$ ) coincide with the further £1 fee increase in autumn 2008.

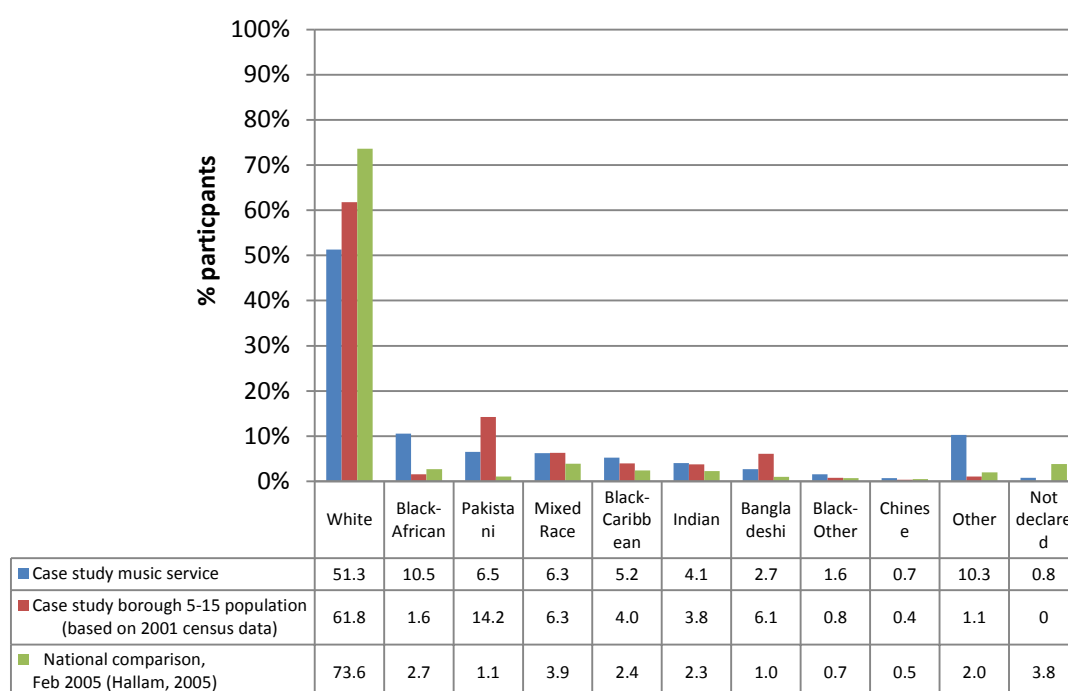
Taken together, the results of these tests suggest that tuition fee increases coincided with the strengthening of already-negative correlation between average levels of participation and income deprivation. These strengthened negative correlations resulted in greater spatial polarisation across the case study authority in the distinctive, railway-bisected distribution shown in figure 8.3.



**Figure 8.6** The results of termly Spearman's  $\rho$  and Moran's  $I$  tests are plotted on the left axis. The prevailing termly tuition fee is plotted on the right.

## Ethnic background of music service pupils

Just over half of those local young people in receipt of music service tuition during the case study period were from white ethnic backgrounds (figure 8.7). Reflecting the prevailing ethnic make-up of the case study local authority population (see Table 7.1), there were also significant numbers of pupils from Black-African, Pakistani, Mixed Race and Black-Caribbean communities. Other ethnic groups were represented in smaller numbers. Figure 8.7 also gives comparative breakdowns of the authority's population aged between 5 and 15 years (based on 2001 census table CT003)<sup>79</sup>. A comparison with the 2005 national population of music service learners is also provided (Hallam *et al*, 2005).

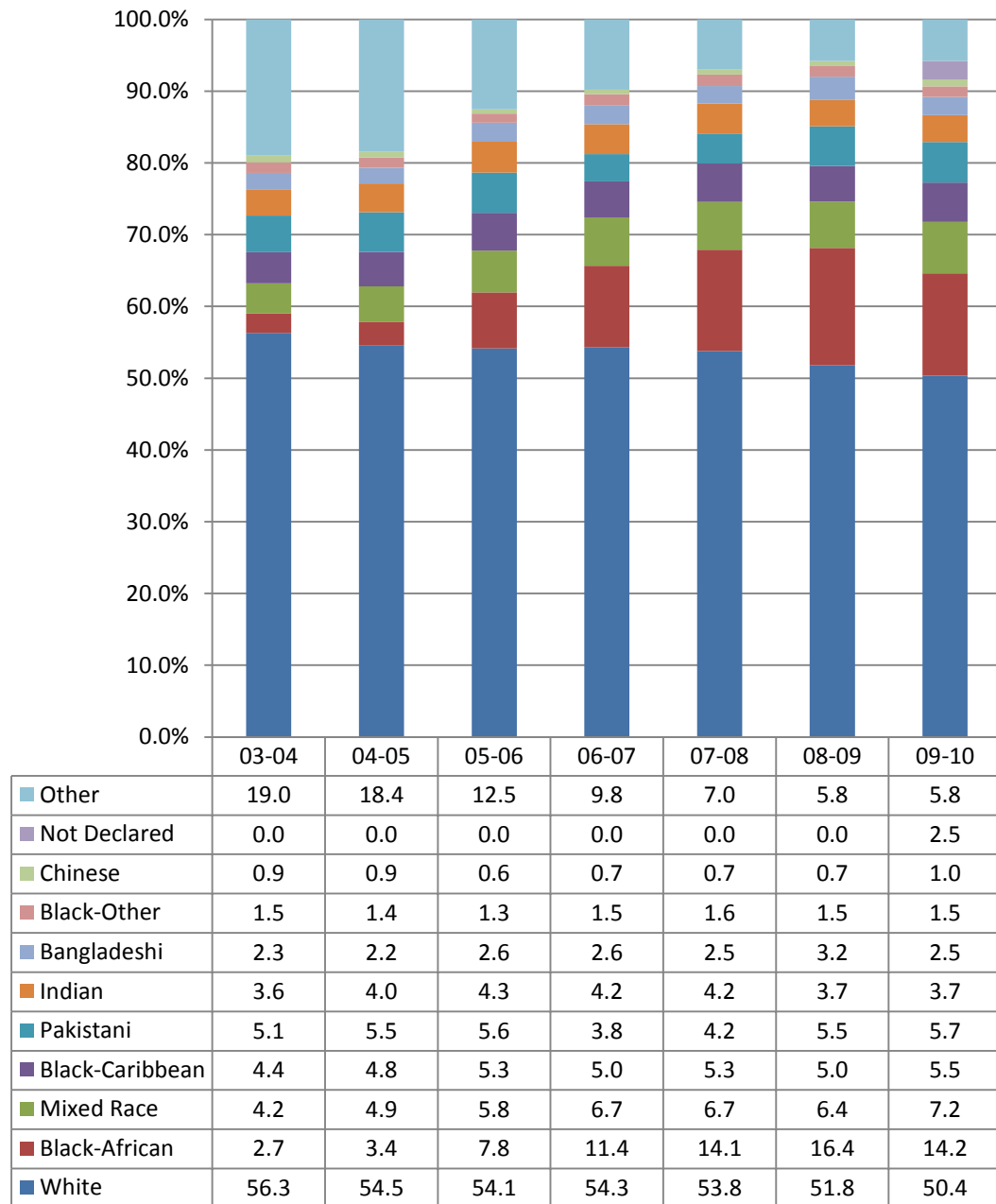


**Figure 8.7** Percentage distribution of young people in receipt of local authority music tuition in the case study authority by ethnic background (blue) (n=6063, authority residents only). The figure also shows the distribution of ethnic backgrounds within the authority's 5-15 as a whole (red) and gives equivalent national data for music service pupils (green).

<sup>79</sup> Due to way in which ethnicity and age data was collated in the 2001 census, the calculations in this section were based on the 5-15 population, rather than the 8 to 16 population used in other areas of this analysis.

Figure 8.8 shows the breakdown of ethnic groups by academic year for all pupils. The numbers of pupils from Black-African and dual heritage backgrounds increase with time, whereas numbers of other ethnic groups remain largely unchanged. There was an anecdotal acknowledgement amongst music service staff that the case study period witnessed a considerable increase in the numbers of pupils from white Central and Eastern European backgrounds. However, due to the way that the authority recorded ethnicity data, this increase could not be evidenced formally (Executive Committee, 2006).





**Figure 8.8** Total pupils in receipt of instrumental tuition from the case study music service by ethnic background, by academic year (n=6350).

In order to assess whether this ethnicity profile might vary spatially, equation 8.2 was used to calculate an 'ethnicity ratio location quotient' (ERLQ) for each LSOA.

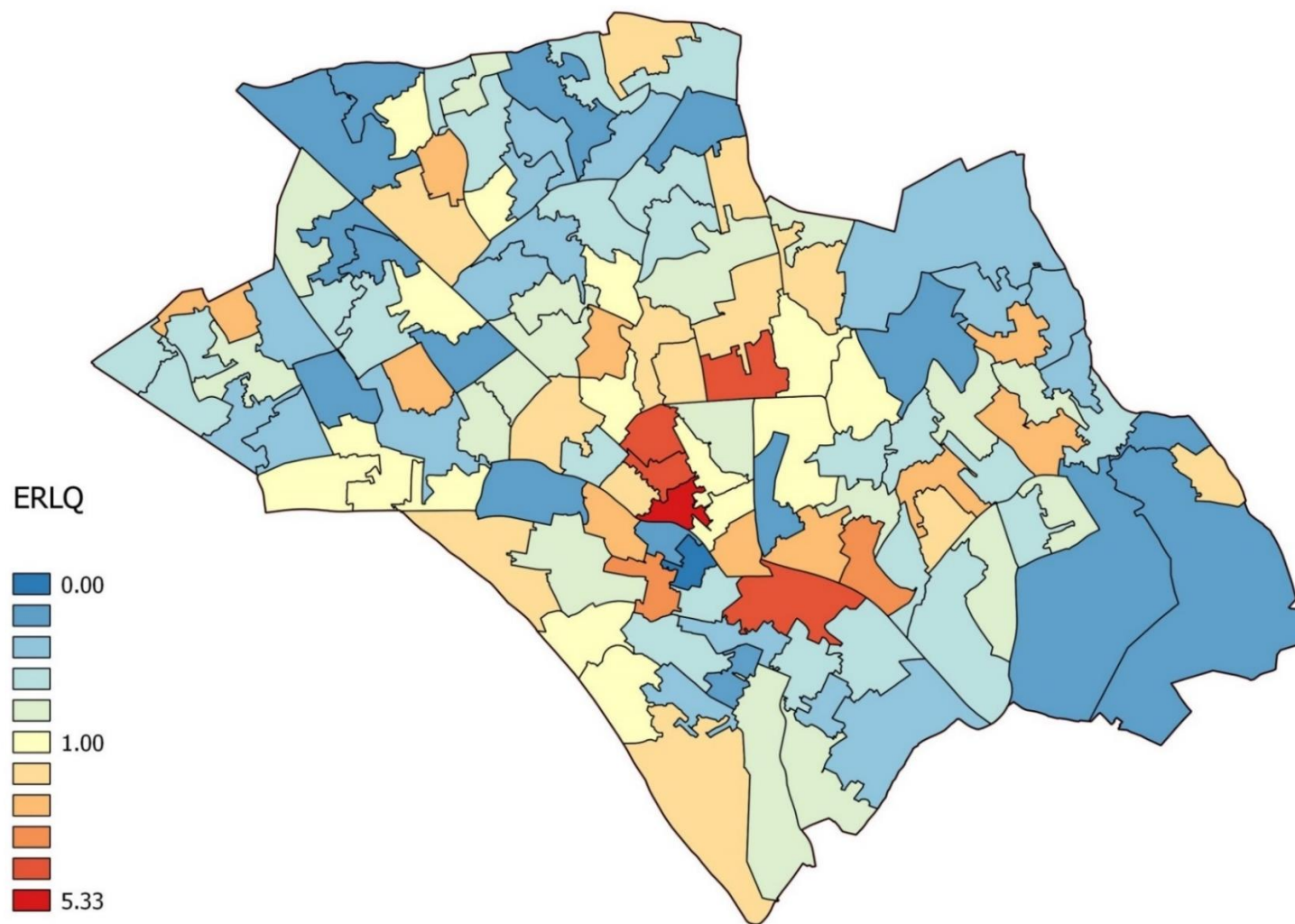
$$ERLQ = \frac{(p_w \div p_{bame}) \div (P_w \div P_{bame})}{(H_w \div H_{bame}) \div (N_w \div N_{bame})} \quad (8.2)$$

In equation 8.2,  $p_w$  denotes the number of participants from white backgrounds, whilst  $p_{bame}$  denotes the equivalent number from BAME backgrounds.  $P_w$  is the total number of young people aged 5-15 from white backgrounds in that LSOA (on the basis of 2001 census table CT003). Similarly,  $P_{bame}$  denotes the total number of young people from BAME backgrounds identified in the 2001 census.  $H_w$  is the total number of white participants in receipt of local authority tuition nationally in February 2005, according to Hallam *et al* (2005), whilst  $H_{bame}$  is the equivalent number from BAME backgrounds. Finally,  $N_w$  and  $N_{bame}$  denote the total numbers of young people aged 5-15 from white and BAME backgrounds respectively, based again on 2001 Census table CT003.

Figure 8.8 plots the resulting ERLQ scores for each LSOA. Where an ERLQ score is close to 1 (shown as shades of yellow), this is an indication that the ratio of young people from white and BAME backgrounds in receipt of tuition within an LSOA is closely in proportion to the equivalent national ratio. ERLQ scores of  $<1$  (shown in increasingly dark blue) indicate that a greater number of white young people were in receipt of tuition than in the equivalent national ratio. ERLQ scores of  $>1$  (coloured increasingly dark red) indicate that a greater number of BAME young people were in receipt of tuition than in the equivalent national ratio.

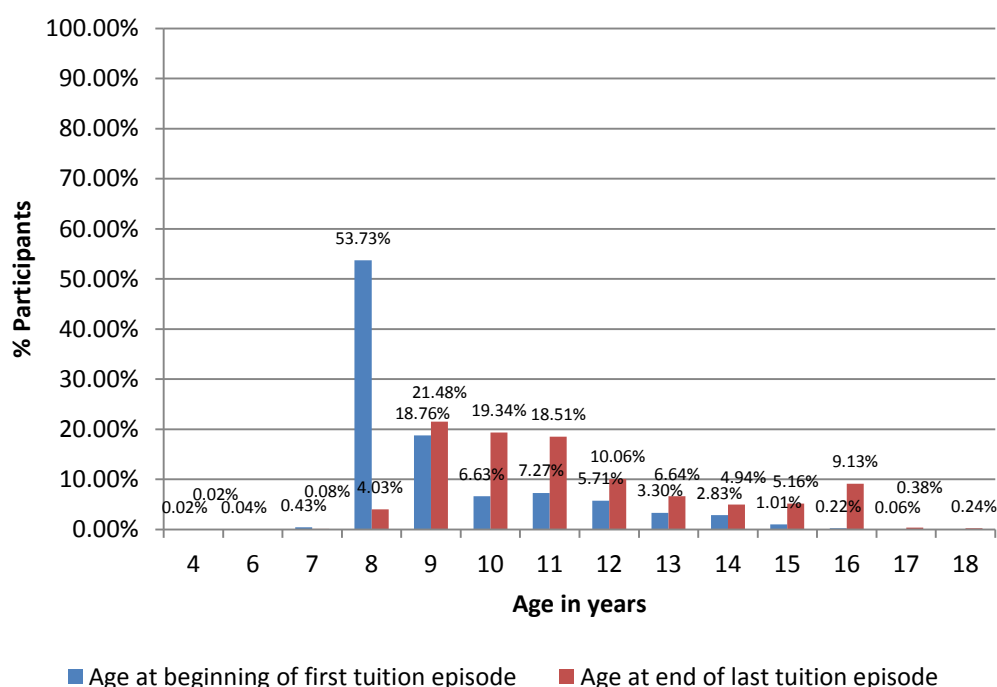
Figure 8.8 suggests a considerable degree of spatial autocorrelation in ERLQ scores, with patches of blue on the perimeter of the borough and a more mixed set of scores in the middle. Moran's  $I$  tests were statistically significant at both the LSOA level ( $I = 0.17909$ ;  $p < 0.001$ ) and the MSOA level ( $I = 0.369553$ ;  $p < 0.05$ ), giving confidence in the observed level of spatial autocorrelation. Whilst many LSOAs are varied shades of yellow (indicating relative similarity to the national picture), many around the perimeter are distinctly blue, suggesting that proportionally fewer young people from BAME backgrounds accessed instrumental tuition in these areas. On the other hand, five prominent patches of red indicate the opposite situation. In these LSOAs, fewer white young people were in receipt of tuition than in the population as a whole.

The conclusion that levels of participation *did* vary spatially on the basis of ethnic background should be considered against a broader observation drawn from figure 8.7: within the case study local authority, levels of participation by young people from BAME backgrounds exceeded equivalent national levels in every case. This is important, given that both the MSF bid criteria and the founding aims of the case study music services emphasised high expectations for ethnic and cultural inclusivity. To put this in perspective, on the basis of data from Hallam *et al* (2005) and 2001 Census table CT003, the proportion of BAME young people in receipt of local authority instrumental tuition nationally was approximately double the proportion of BAME in the overall population. That this high level of BAME participation was exceeded *still further* in the case study authority is very significant.



**Figure 8.9** Choropleth map plotting the ERLQ for each LSOA in the case study authority (n=6063, case study authority residents only).

## Age and length of tuition



**Figure 8.10** Distribution of tuition commencement and cessation ages over the entire period of time covered in the case study data. This figure includes all pupil profiles where both the DOB *and* start/end dates could be verified (Starting ages: n=5340; Finish ages: n=5061 - all areas included)

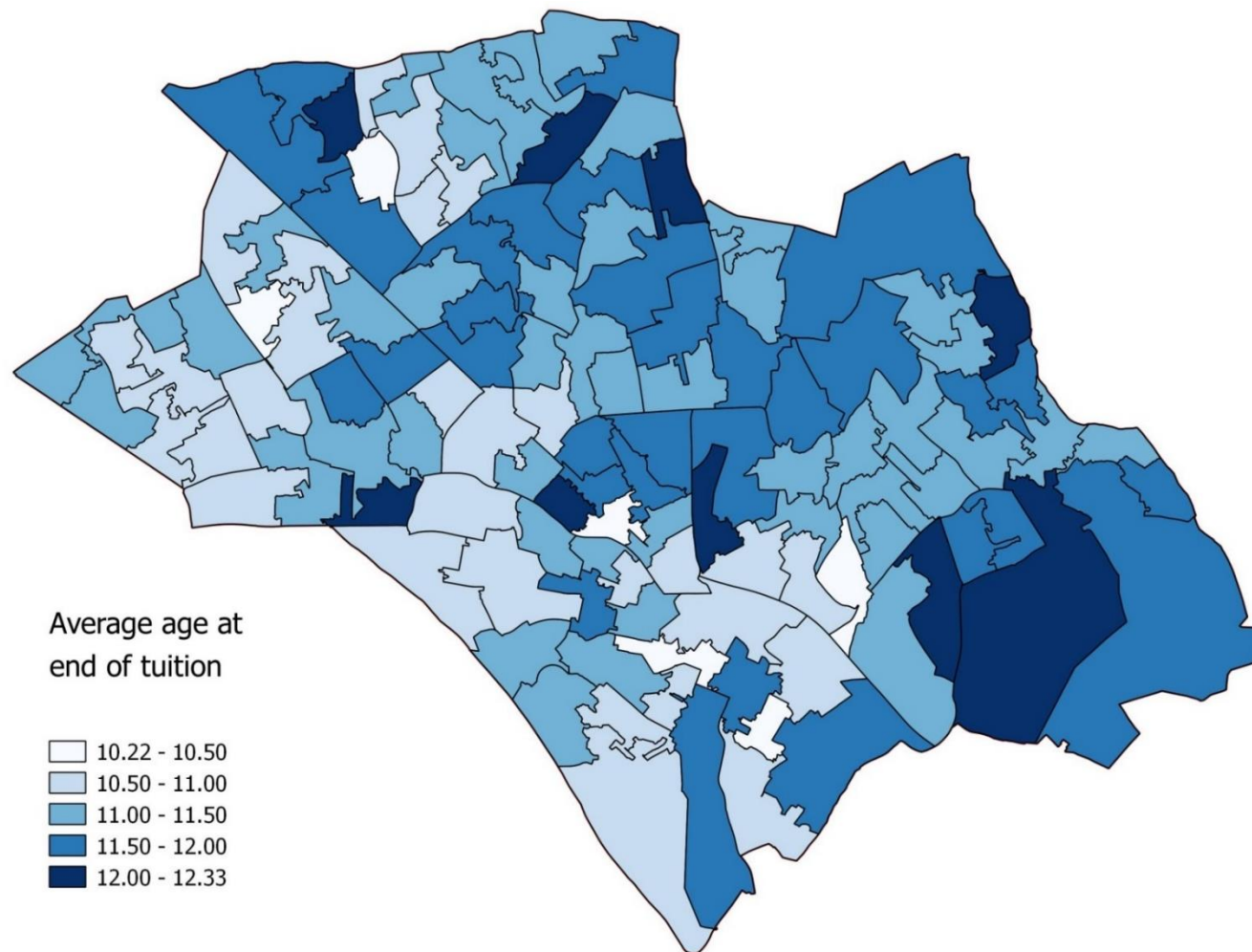
Figure 8.10 indicates the ages at which pupils undertook their first and last lessons with the case study music service. Most began aged eight, in line with the service's recruitment policy (see Chapter 7)<sup>80</sup>. Smaller, decreasing numbers of pupils continued to commence first lessons until the age of 17. The majority of those pupils who commenced tuition at eight subsequently ceased within three years. This would take them close to the primary-secondary school transfer point, something considered in more depth below. However, figure 8.10 also suggests that, for those pupils who negotiate this transition, relatively few subsequently give up lessons between the ages of 12 and 15. The sudden peak of leavers aged 16 is unsurprising, given that the majority of the secondary schools with the case study authority finished at this age. More specifically, though, this age marks the end of GCSE studies

<sup>80</sup>As is evident in Figure 8.10, the data included a very small number of cases where pupils apparently started when they were younger than eight years. Given the service's policy, it is assumed that these were due to mistakes in data entry.

and, as noted in Chapter 7, instrumental tuition was free for those studying GCSE Music.

Moran's  $I$  tests at the LSOA level revealed statistically significant spatial variation in average start ( $I = 0.16214$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) and end ( $I = 0.21310$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ) ages. However, confirmatory tests at the OA level were only significant for end age ( $I = 0.080961$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ). Thus, whilst we may have confidence that the spatial autocorrelation observed within the end ages represents a genuine effect, we must be cautious about conclusions drawn from variations in start age.

Figure 8.11 plots the average end ages for each LSOA. Overall, clusters of average tuition cessation ages appear to cleave geographically on a similar basis to overall participation levels (see the map or SRLQ(L) in figure 8.3). Building on an observation already made with regard to figure 8.10, these clusters are formed from average ages which occur at the point of the primary-secondary school transfer. With a few notable exceptions, many LSOAs in the south-west cluster have average cessation ages less than, or approximately equal to, 11 years. This, in turn, may suggest that many of the learners living in these areas do not continue tuition upon reaching secondary school. In contrast, the darker shading in the north-east cluster suggests more pupils continuing tuition into their secondary years.



**Figure 8.11** Average age at the end of tuition, by LSOA. Darker colours indicate LSOAs with higher average ages (includes only residents of case study authority whose dates of birth and tuition start dates could be verified, n=4815)

### Length of time over which tuition was received

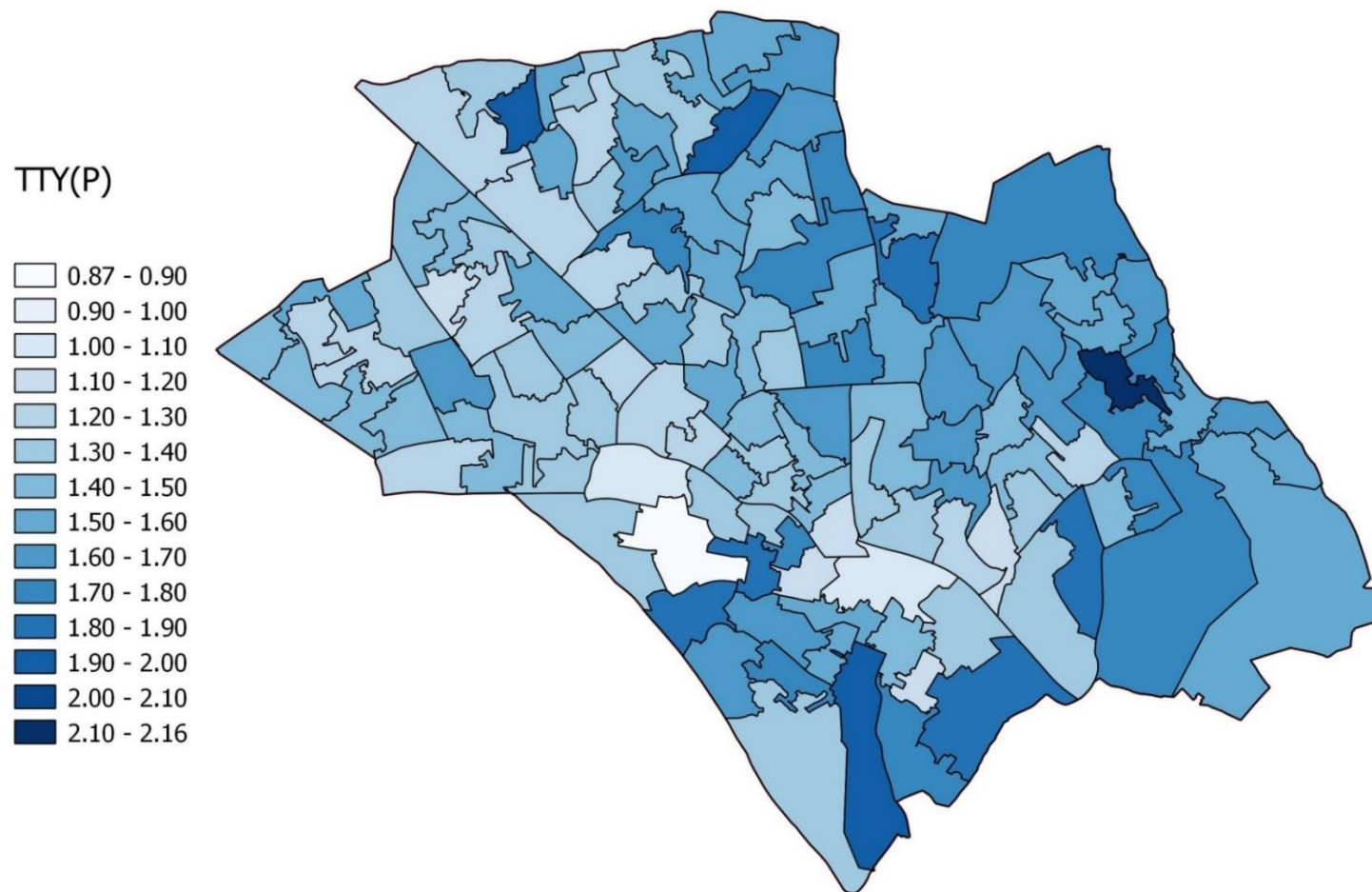
Hallam (1998b) established that the length of time over which instrumental tuition was received was the most effective predictor of overall achievement. It was therefore regarded as very important to determine whether average lengths of tuition in each LSOA varied spatially. ‘Total tuition years (per participant)’ or ‘TTY(P)’ was calculated using equation 8.3:

$$TTY(P) = \frac{(\sum t_{lsoa}) \div 365.25}{p_{tuition}} \quad (8.3)$$

Here,  $t_{lsoa}$  denotes the total duration in days of each tuition episode completed by each pupil living in a given LSOA. In order to make the figures more manageable, this is converted to years (regarded as being 365.25 days to account for leap years).  $p_{tuition}$  is the total number of young people in receipt of music service tuition living in an LSOA. Only pupils with known tuition start and end dates were included ( $n=4205$ ). This was because there was no way to establish the true start and end dates outside the case study period. Overall, values for TTY(P) ranged from 0.87 years per participant in one LSOA to 2.16 years per participant in another. A Moran’s  $I$  test was statistically significant ( $I = 0.35271$ ;  $p < 1 \times 10^{-10}$ ) as was a confirmatory test at the OA level ( $I = 0.208187$ ;  $p < 1 \times 10^{-15}$ ).

Figure 8.12 plots TTY(P) as a choropleth map. LSOAs coloured in darker blue indicate higher total tuition years per participant. This reflects the findings associated with figure 8.11 in the sense that LSOAs with higher average tuition cessation ages tend to be the same as those areas with longer overall engagement with tuition, as measured using TTY(P). Again, this points to the salience of the primary-secondary transfer as a ‘watershed moment’ in a pupil’s career as an instrumental learner.





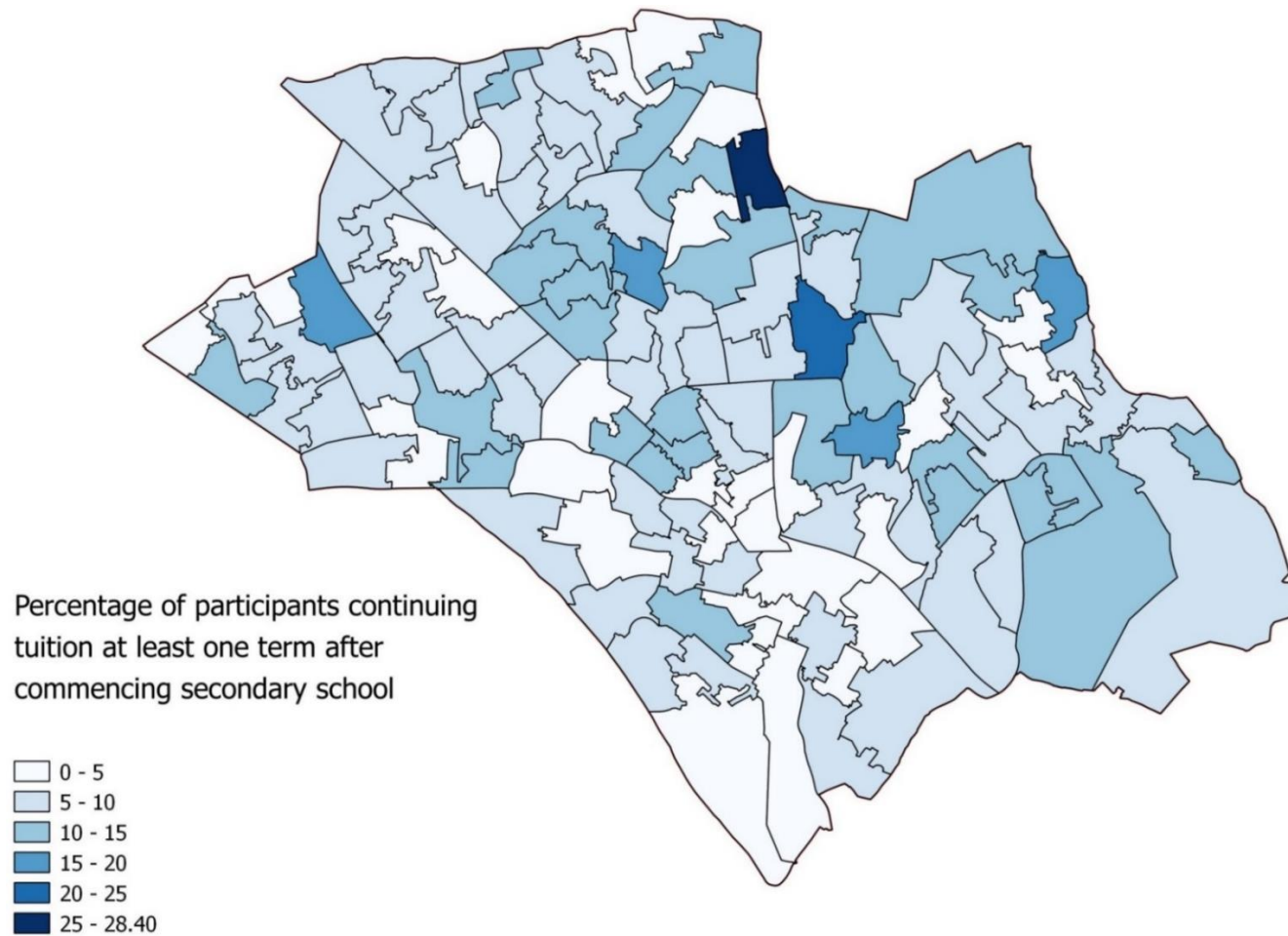
**Figure 8.12** Choropleth map showing TTY(P) (total tuition years per participant) for each LSOA (n=4205 – see text).

### **Primary-secondary transfer and pupils continuing for two years of tuition or longer**

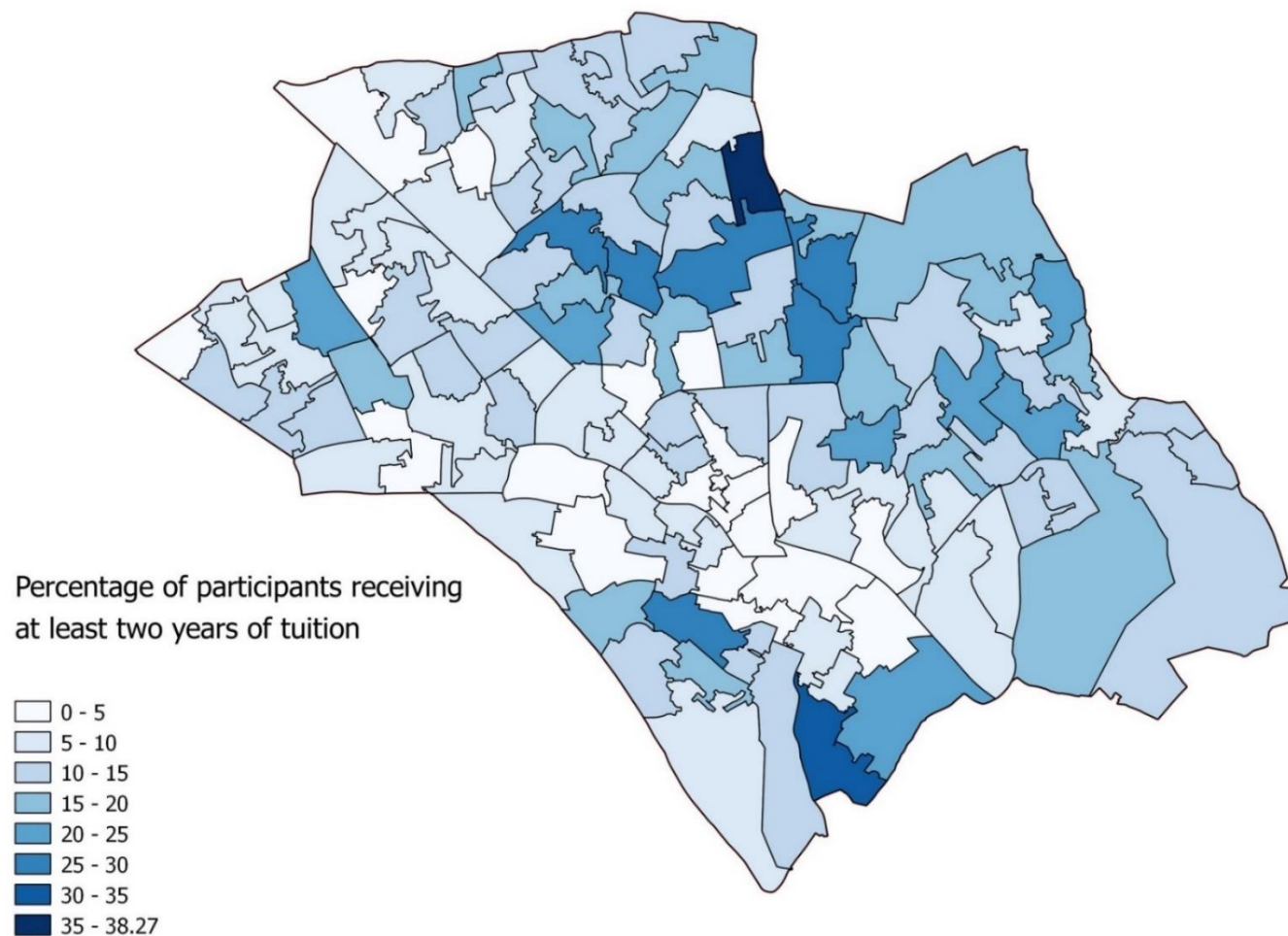
Across the seven years of data, a total of 824 pupils began tuition during primary school and then continued for at least one term of secondary school. These represented between 0% and 28.4% of all music service pupils within their home LSOAs. Figure 8.13 maps the results of this 'PST' measure. Moran's  $I$  tests at both LSOA level ( $I = 0.11512$ ,  $p = <0.05$ ) and output area level ( $I = 0.100435$ ,  $p = <0.01$ ) confirmed a statistically significant, albeit relatively small, level of spatial autocorrelation of these percentages.

1,222 pupils completed a minimum of two years of tuition (TYT) over the course of the case study period. These represented between 0% and 38.27% of all music service pupils within their home LSOAs. Moran's  $I$  tests at both LSOA level ( $I = 0.30963$ ,  $p = <1 \times 10^{-8}$ ) and output area level ( $I = 0.179116$ ,  $p = <1 \times 10^{-11}$ ) confirmed a statistically significant level of spatial autocorrelation. When these 'TYT' percentages are plotted at LSOA Level (figure 8.14), the autocorrelation is very evident, with clusters of higher percentages in the north east, southern and western tips of the borough.

Taken together, the results of the PST and TYT measures suggest that we should be concerned not only how hidden barriers might affect who *gains access* to local authority instrumental tuition but also how these barriers might impact on young people's ability to *sustain* this engagement for long enough (and perhaps in the face of considerable adversity) for significant extrinsic benefits to be gained. Chapter 9 will seek to identify underlying predictor variables for the variance in these measures.



**Figure 8.13** Results of the primary-secondary transfer (PST) measure, mapped at LSOA level (n=824, Case Study Local Authority residents only).



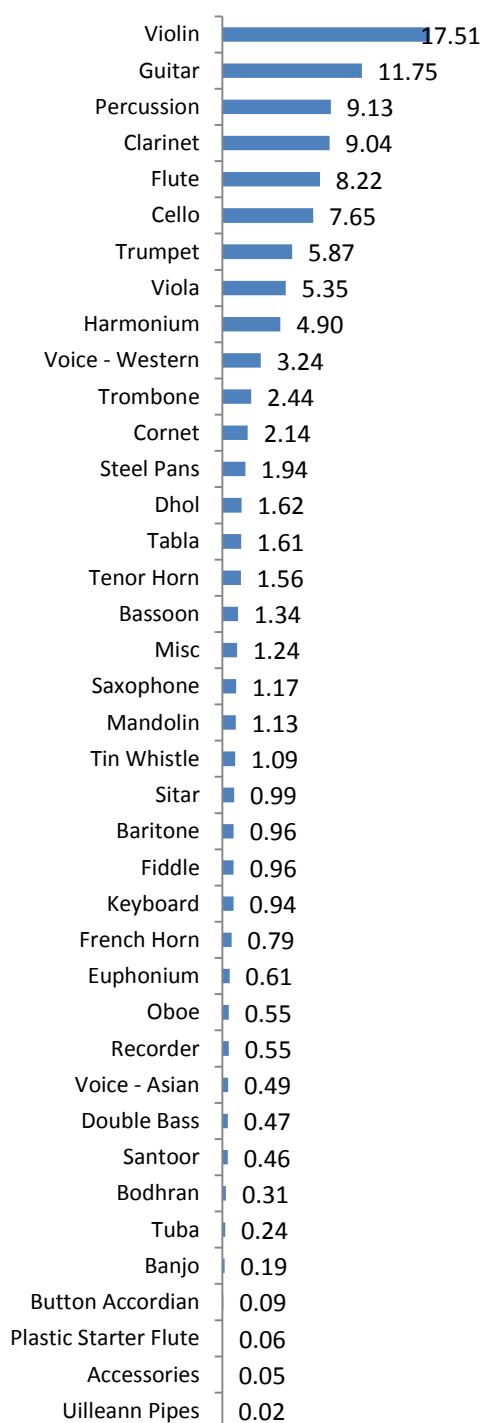
**Figure 8.14** Results of the two-year 'neuroplasticity' measure, mapped at LSOA level (n=1222, case study authority residents only)

## Instruments played

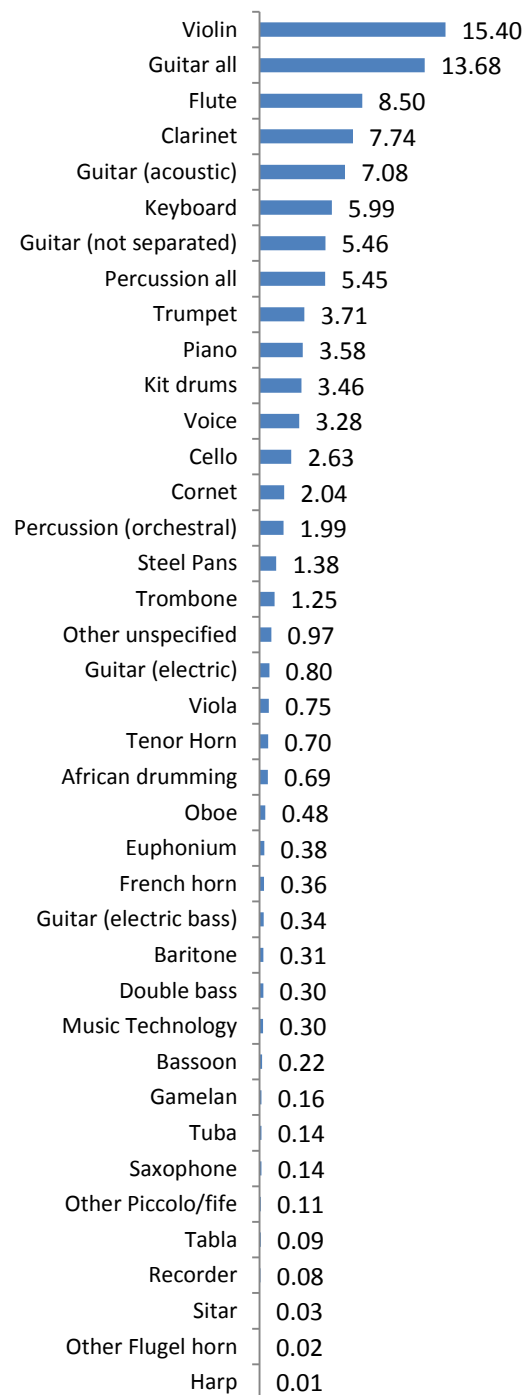
Within the case study data as a whole, violin was by far the most popular instrument, with 17.51% of pupils receiving tuition (figure 8.15a). Guitar and percussion were also extremely popular, though the case study music service's reporting systems did not differentiate between percussion and drum kit, or between classical, electric, and bass guitar. Non-western instruments, including harmonium, dhol and tabla, proved to be more popular than several traditional Western classical instruments, including some of the Endangered Species instruments.

A direct comparison with national data from Hallam *et al*'s (2005) survey is not straightforward, since instrumental reporting categories differ. However, it is interesting to note several similarities nonetheless. Figure 8.15b confirms that violin was also the most popular national instrument. Guitar, flute and clarinet achieved similarly prominent placements as in the case study data but cello appears to have been considerably more popular locally than nationally. Overall, considerably more pupils were receiving tuition on non-Western instruments in the case study authority than nationally in 2005.

Further confirmation that the trends in instrumental choice found within the case study local authority are representative of the contemporary situation nationally come from reference to ABRSM's (2006) research and Ofsted's (2004) inspection review. Violin, guitar, flute, clarinet, percussion, trumpet were all amongst the top ten most popular instruments identified in both of these studies. One key area of difference is within piano/keyboard provision however. Figures from Hallam *et al* (2005), ABRSM and Ofsted all place tuition on piano/keyboard as within the top ten most popular studies. However, in the Case Study Local Authority it is ranked in twenty fifth place. This may say more about the authority's ability to provide tuition on this instrument than it does about the natural inclination of local young people to study this instrument.



**Figure 8.15a** Percentage of pupil profiles playing each instrument (n=6350, all areas)



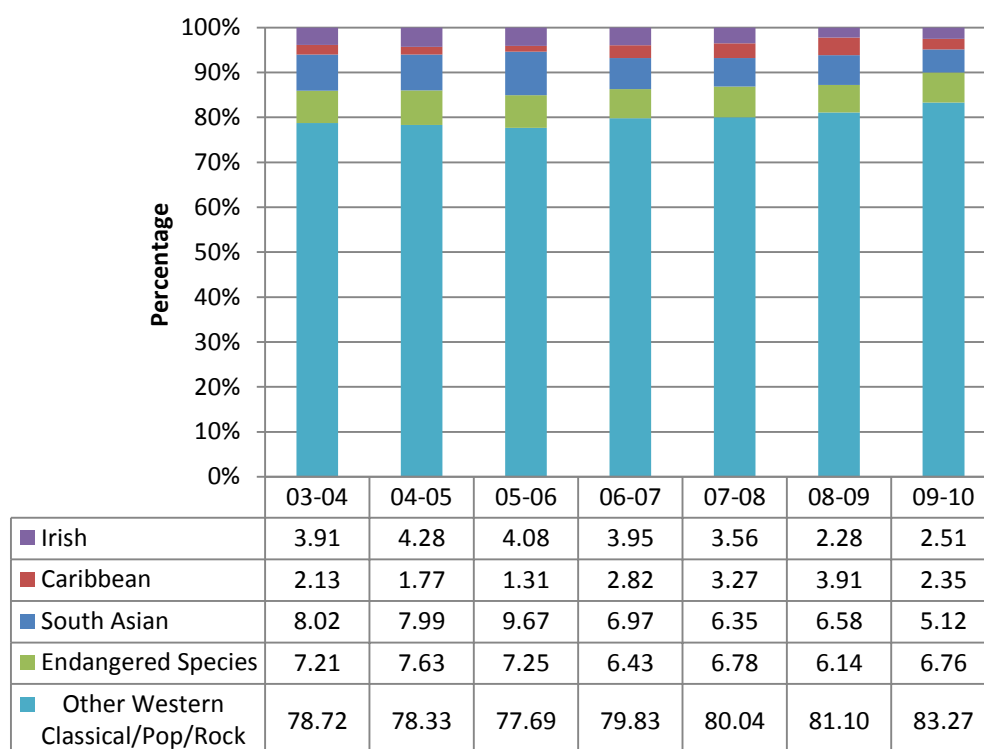
**Figure 8.15b** Percentage of KS2-4 pupils surveyed in Hallam *et al* (2005) by instrument (n=452,684)

## Key instrumental categories

Figure 8.16 breaks down the tuition delivered by the case study music service by year, according to several key instrumental categories. The first such category relates to Endangered Species status. As noted in Chapters 4 and 7, the Endangered Species scheme was launched in November 2003 and it is known that the case study music service became heavily involved, purchasing additional stock of each of these instruments using the available funding. As noted in Chapter 5, the MSF encouraged increased access partly through broadening provision to include instruments from traditions other than Western classical. Thus figure 8.16 also details tuition delivered in each of three non-Western musical traditions, specifically Irish (banjo, bodhran, button accordion, mandolin, plastic starter flute, tin whistle, uilleann pipes and fiddle), South Asian (dhol, harmonium, santoor, sitar, tabla and Asian voice) and Caribbean (steel pans). All other instruments are included under 'Other Western Classical/Pop/Rock')<sup>81</sup>.

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<sup>81</sup> Considering the MSF's motivations, it would have been preferable to have been able to differentiate between traditional Western classical instruments and those from pop and rock traditions. Unfortunately, due to the way data tuition was recorded by the music service this level of stylistic sub-classification was not possible.



**Figure 8.16** Annual breakdowns of the percentages of case study pupils receiving tuition in key categories, including Non-Western provision (Irish, Caribbean and Asian cultural instruments) and instruments promoted under Youth Music's Endangered Species scheme.

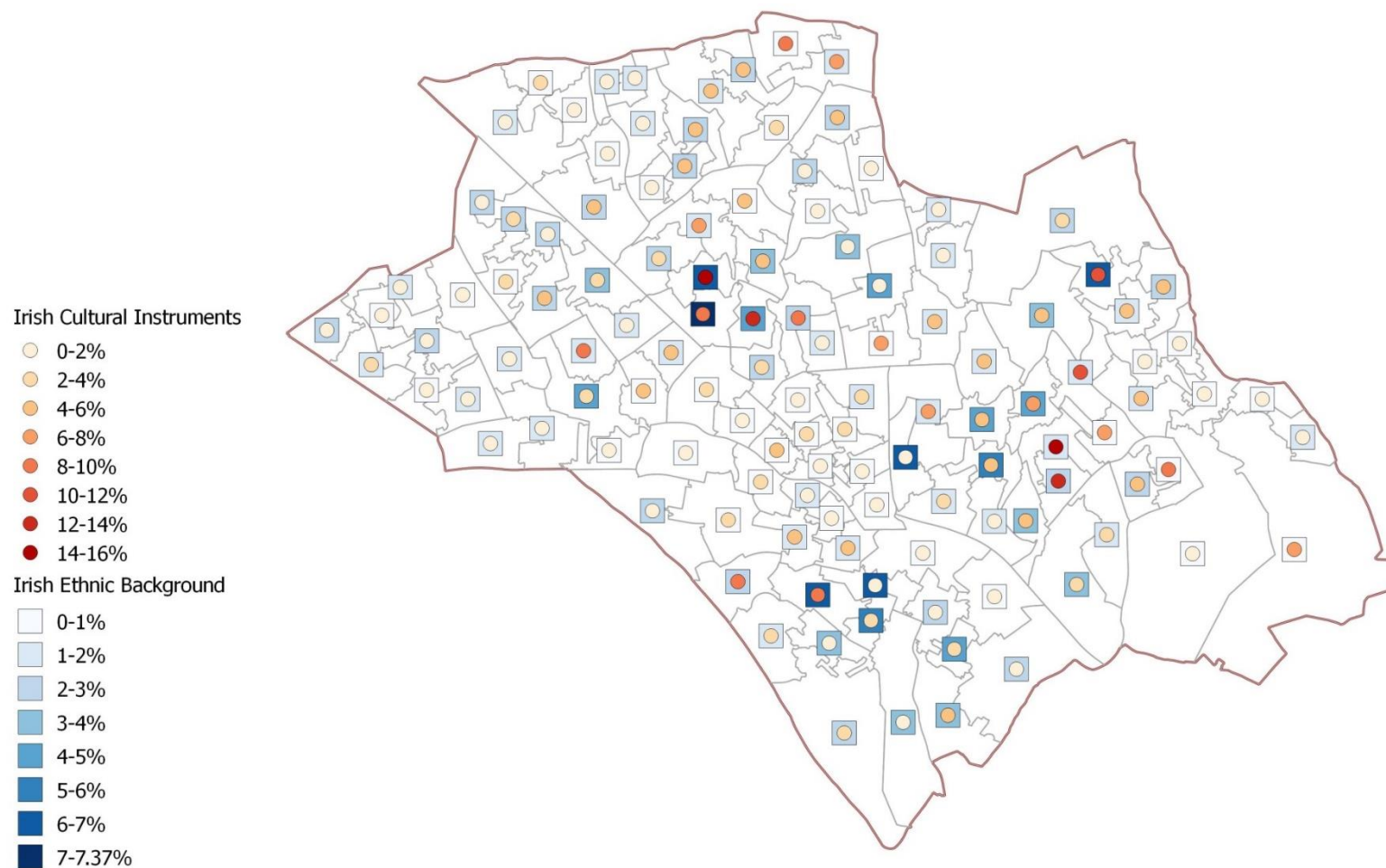
Endangered Species funding was received by music services from May 2004 onwards. Thus one would expect to see the impact of funding in earnest from the beginning of 2005-06 onwards. In fact, Figure 8.16 shows a slight reduction in the number of young people receiving tuition on Endangered Species instruments from September 2005 onwards. To be fair, as noted above, the 2005-06 year witnessed a significant contraction in overall participation across the whole music service. Thus, it may be that the additional injection of resources received via Endangered Species served to stave off a more drastic reduction in take up. Such a view is supported by the fact that Asian and Irish provision witnessed even greater contractions between 2005-06 and 2006-07. In contrast, this same period witnessed a small amount of growth in Caribbean provision (which had experienced its own slight contraction the year before). A more positive conclusion relating to Endangered Species can be made with regard to pupils' ethnic backgrounds. Artservice (2005; 2006) reported that BAME pupils represented around 15% of all those taking up endangered species instruments following the introduction of the scheme. However, of the case study pupils who



commenced tuition on these instruments from September 2005 onwards, 42% came from a BAME background.

A fundamental observation from figure 8.16 is that whilst the amount of non-Western provision does ebb and flow with the passing of each academic year, collectively it never accounts for more than around 15% of the case study music service's total provision in any one year. Given the noted higher-than-average ethnic diversity of the school-age population (see Chapter 7) this is perhaps surprising. On the other hand, 15% is considerably more than equivalent national levels of non-Western provision. The data reported in Hallam *et al* (2005)'s study suggested that pupils receiving tuition on Non-Western instruments (defined in their case as African drumming, gamelan, sitar, steel pans and tabla) represented 2.74% of all those receiving tuition.

A further line of enquiry was the extent to which take-up of Asian, Irish and Caribbean instrumentation had proliferated in areas of the case study local authority which did *not* have large populations of people from these backgrounds. Put another way, it was interesting to consider whether pupils not from the ethnic backgrounds with which these instruments were associated were considered to be potential recruits. The concept of 'equal opportunities' works both ways and the argument can be made that, just as opportunities should be available for pupils from BAME backgrounds to study Western instruments, similar opportunities should be afforded to those from non-BAME backgrounds to student non-Western instruments. In order to consider these matters, a series of choropleth maps (figures 8.17 to 8.19) were produced. These plot both the distribution of the non-Western instrumental groups and the associated ethnic populations. A further map (figure 8.20) compared the distribution of those learning Endangered Species instruments before and after the introduction of this scheme. Subsequently, Syrjala's (1996) test was used to assess the difference between the two spatial distributions plotted on each of these maps.

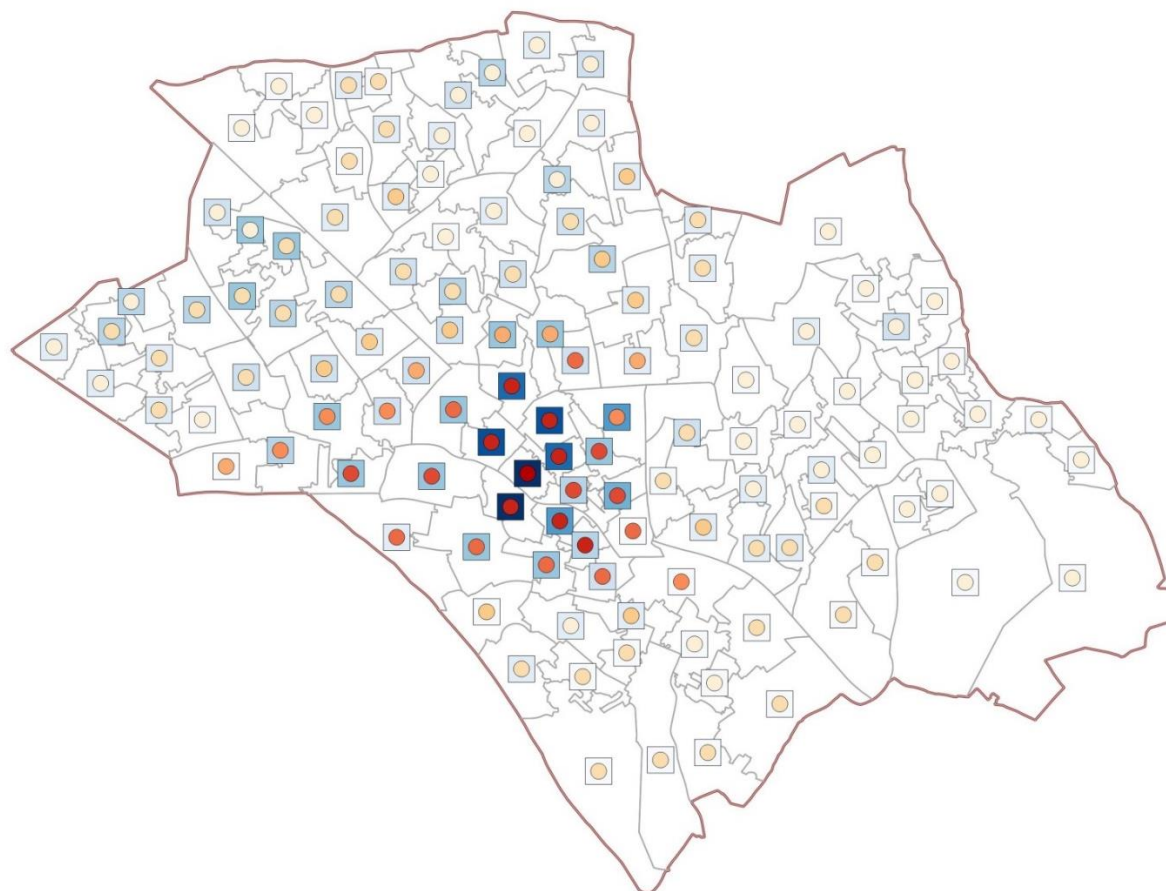
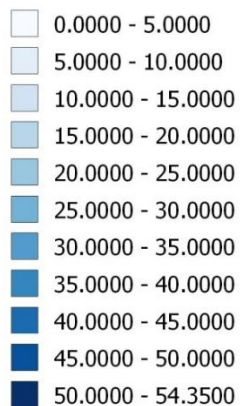


**Figure 8.17** Blue squares indicate the spatial distribution of the Irish ethnic community aged between 0 and 15 (data from 2001 census table CT003). Red circles indicate the spatial distribution of young people receiving tuition on Irish cultural instruments.

# South Asian Cultural Instruments

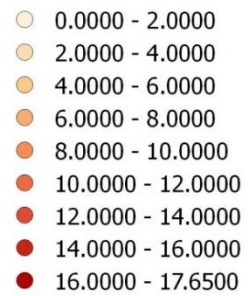


# South Asian Ethnic Background

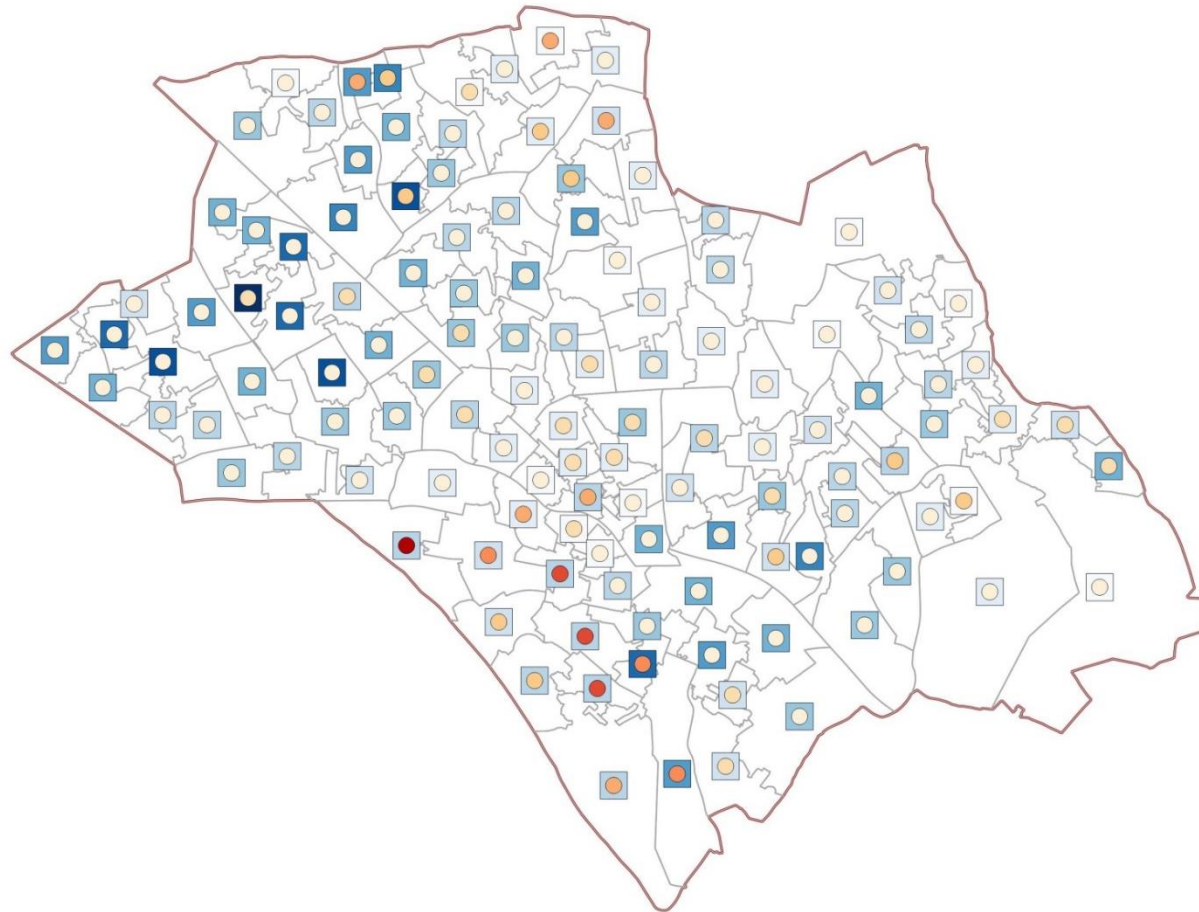
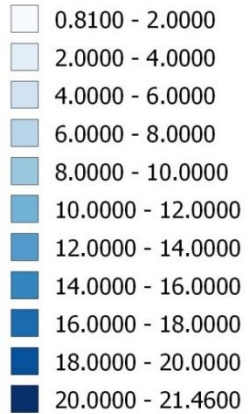


**Figure 8.18** Blue squares indicate the spatial distribution of the South Asian (Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Indian) community aged between 0 and 15 (data from 2001 census table CT003). Red circles indicate the spatial distribution of young people receiving tuition on South Asian cultural instruments.

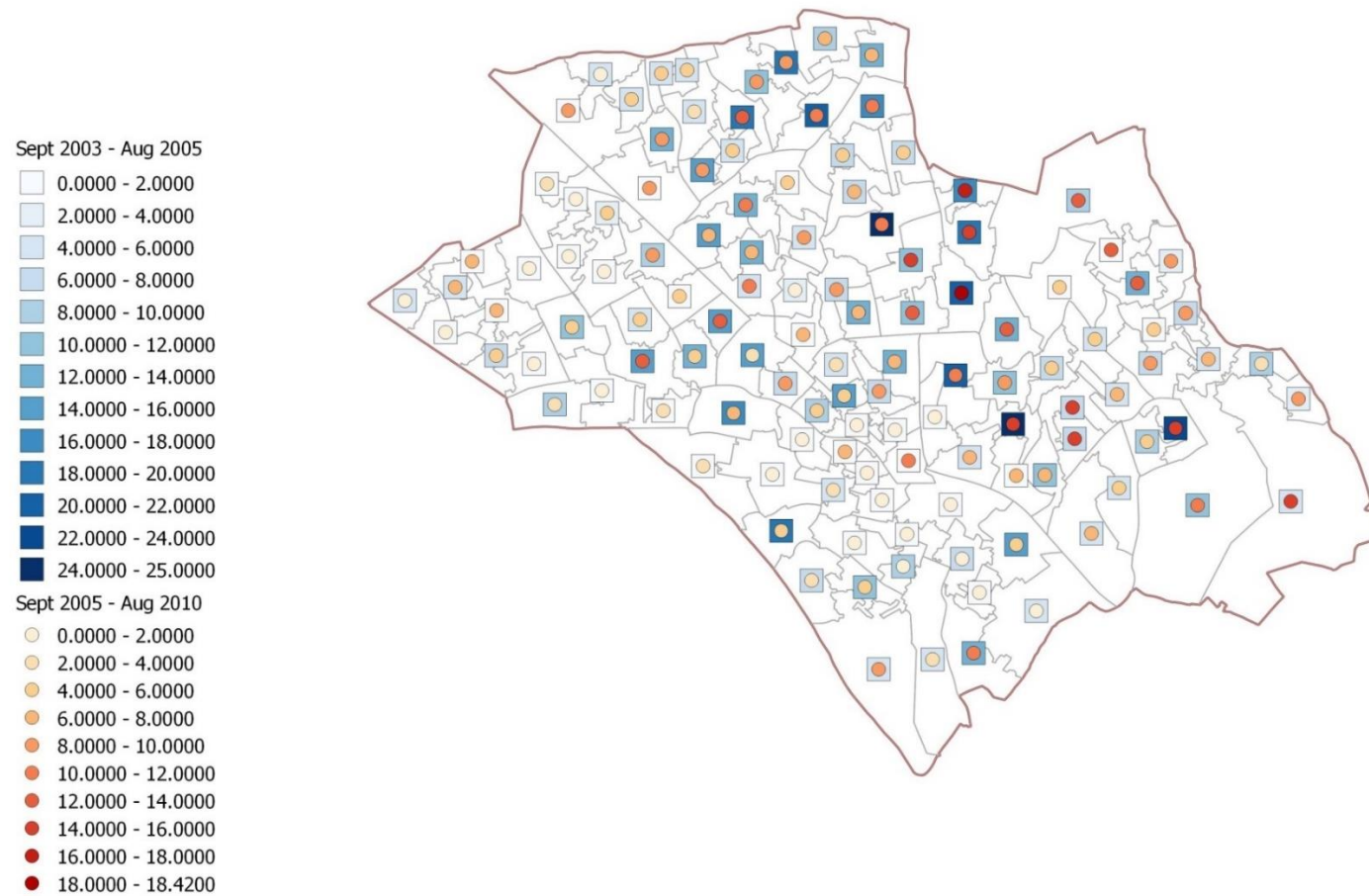
#### Steel Pans



#### Caribbean Ethnic Background



**Figure 8.19** Blue squares indicate the spatial distribution of the Black Caribbean and White/Black Caribbean Mixed community aged between 0 and 15 (data from 2001 census table CT003). Red circles indicate the spatial distribution of young people receiving tuition on steel pans.



**Figure 8.20** Spatial distributions of pupils in receipt of tuition on Endangered Species instruments. Blue squares indicate LSOA summaries for Sept 2003 to Aug 2005, whilst red circles indicate LSOA summaries for Sept 2005 to Aug 2010.

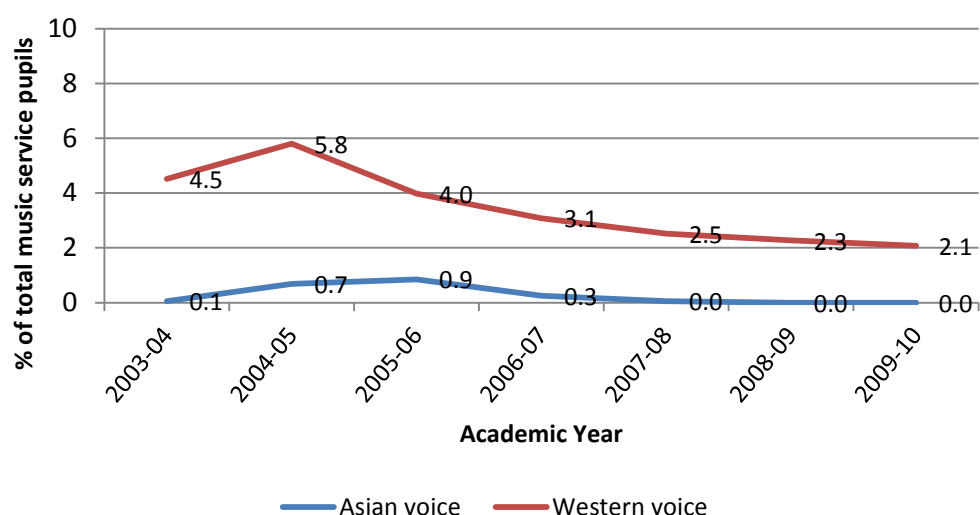
A comparison of the spatial distributions of 0 to 15 year-olds from Irish ethnic backgrounds and of pupils receiving tuition on Irish cultural instruments (see figure 8.17) was not statistically significant ( $\psi = 0.317$ ;  $p = 0.113$ ; 9,999 permutations). This confirmed these two distributions were, in reality, from the same population and it is thus not possible to conclude that geographical take-up for Irish instruments went beyond areas with prominent communities from Irish backgrounds to a significant degree. However, a similar comparison of the spatial distributions of 0 to 15 year-olds from South Asian (encompassing Bangladeshi, Indian and Pakistani) ethnic backgrounds and of pupils receiving tuition on South Asian cultural instruments (see figure 8.18) was statistically significant ( $\psi = 0.757$ ;  $p = <0.001$ , 9,999 permutations). Although  $\psi$  was small, the  $p$  value confirmed that these two distributions are distinct. Thus we may conclude that geographical take-up for South Asian instruments was significant beyond areas with prominent communities from South Asian backgrounds. Moreover, a comparison of the spatial distributions of 0 to 15 year-olds from Caribbean (and White-Caribbean) ethnic backgrounds and of pupils receiving tuition on steel pans (see figure 8.21) was also statistically significant ( $\psi = 2.49$ ;  $p = <0.01$ ; 9,999 permutations). Given that  $\psi$  was reasonably large and that  $p$  was significant, we may again conclude that these two distributions are distinct. This confirms that there was a significant take-up of steel pan tuition in areas other than those inhabited by larger groups of communities of Caribbean descent.

A further Syrjala test was conducted to assess whether the spatial distribution of those learning Endangered Species instruments differed before and after this scheme was introduced (figure 8.20). To facilitate this test, the data was chronologically sliced as follows: September 2003 to August 2005, and September 2005 to August 2010. This was intended to reflect the impact of additional Endangered Species funding from the beginning of 2005-06. The results of this test were not statistically significant ( $\psi = 0.105$ ;  $p = 0.244$ ; 9,999 permutations), suggesting that these two distributions were from the same population. On the basis of figure 8.16 it has already been noted that Endangered Species funding did not significantly increase overall numbers of



young people receiving tuition on these instruments. The findings of this Syrjala test confirm that the additional funding did not lead to a wider *geographical spread* of the tuition either.

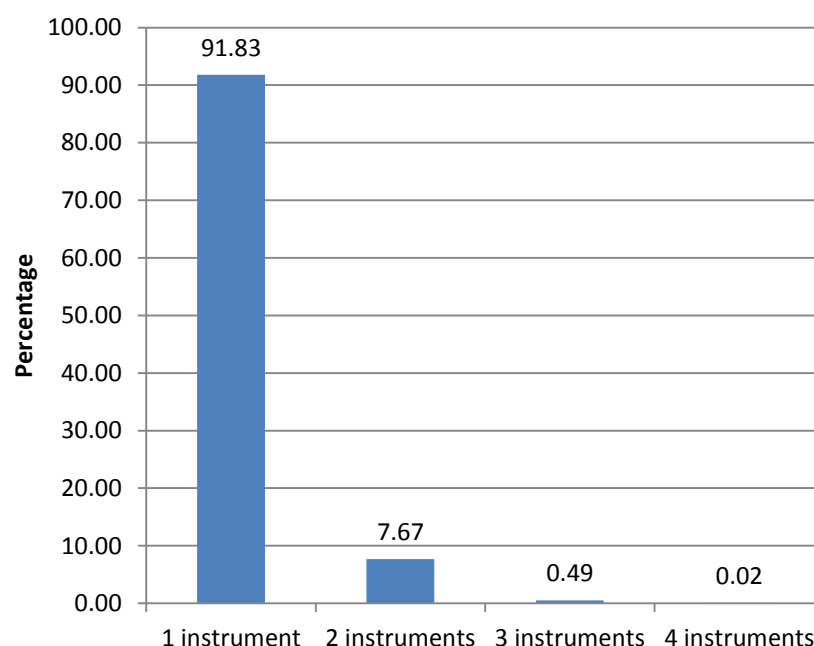
Whilst not included in figure 8.16 a further key instrumental category was regarded to be voice. As noted in Chapters 5 and 7, a change in the law in September 2007 meant that local authorities could legitimately charge for singing lessons. The case study authority was amongst those who elected to begin charging from this date (Executive Committee, 2006), therefore one might expect to notice a decrease in the amount of singing tuition delivered as parents were charged for something which had formerly been free. As can be seen in figure 8.21, voice provision in both Western and Asian traditions were niche areas of the music service's work, not reaching more than 6.5% of all learners as part of core provision. Nonetheless, the change to the law does coincide with an extended downwards trend in the amount of tuition delivered from around 2005 onwards. It is possible that some learners may have discontinued their lessons, or that others chose not to commence tuition, because they had advance notice of the fees to come.



**Figure 8.21** Percentage of case study pupils undertaking voice lessons in Asian and Western traditions by year.

### Pupils learning more than one instrument

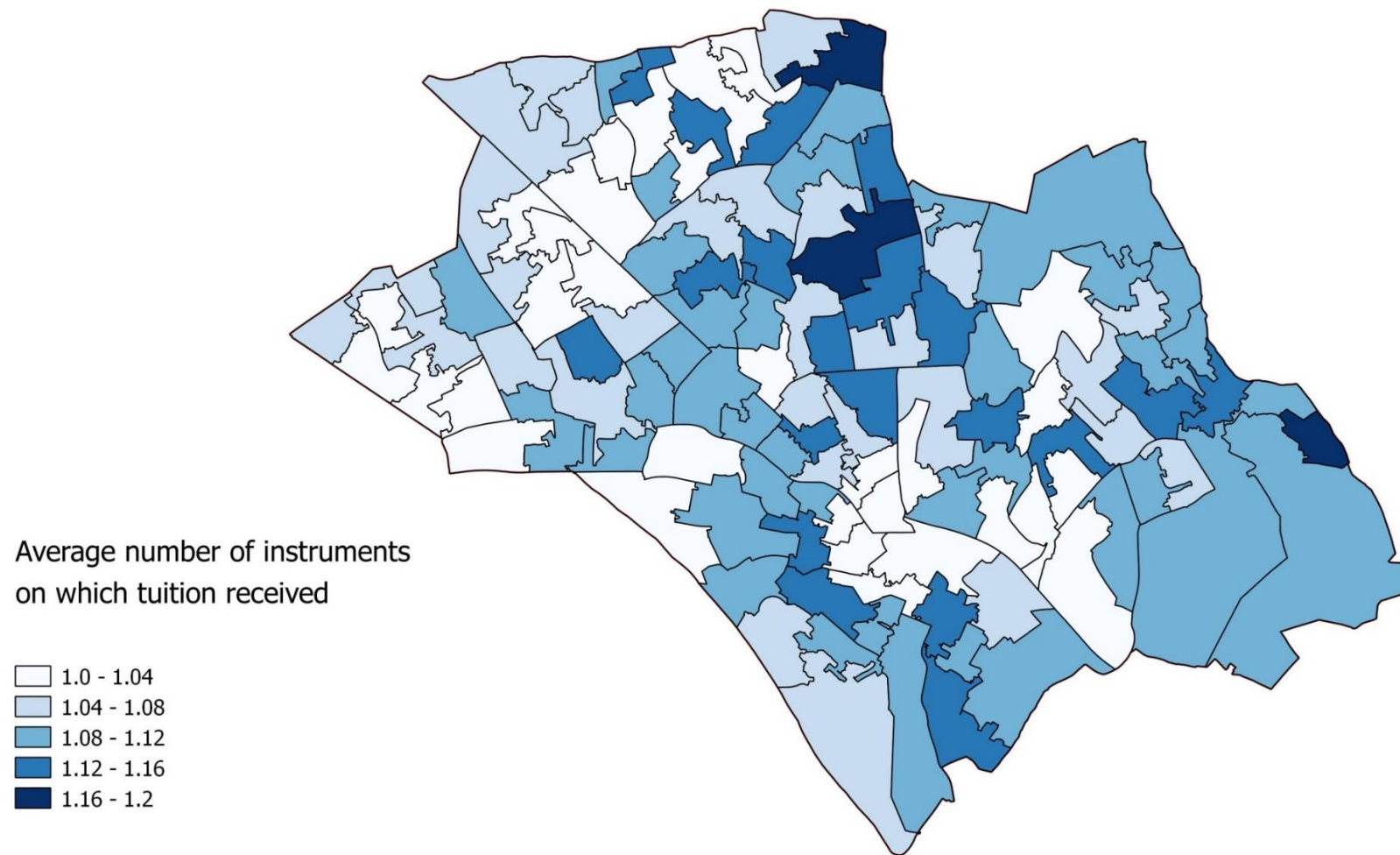
Over 90% of case study pupils received tuition on one distinct instrument (figure 8.21). However, 7.6% of pupils studied two instruments and, in a minority of cases, tuition was received on three or four distinct instruments.



**Figure 8.21** Distribution pupil profiles (percentage) by individual instruments on which tuition was received (n=6350).

Moran's  $I$  tests at both LSOA level (Moran's  $I$  = 0.19648,  $p$  = <0.001) and output area level ( $I$  = 0.049226,  $p$  = <0.05) revealed a statistically significant degree of spatial autocorrelation in the average number of instruments studied. Figure 8.22 plots these averages and it can be seen that LSOAs with the most instruments taught per pupil tended to be concentrated in the north-east of the authority.





**Figure 8.22** Average number of instruments taught per pupil, by LSOA. Darker colours indicate higher average numbers of instruments taught.

## Calculating Instrumental location quotients

Findings presented thus far in this chapter confirm that many aspects of taking up and maintaining music service tuition in the case study authority between 2003 and 2010 were subject to spatial variation. In turn, this suggests that access to sustained instrumental tuition opportunities may have been influenced to a greater or lesser extent by where pupils lived. One corollary is that the take up of specific instruments may also vary spatially. In order to test this, location quotients were calculated for as many instruments as possible at both LSOA and OA levels. Referred to as ‘ILQs’ for ‘instrument location quotients’, these followed the same general methodology as outlined in Chapter 2. Equation 8.4 outlines how ILQ was calculated:

$$ILQ_i = \frac{p_i/p}{P_i/P} \quad (8.4)$$

Here,  $p_i$  is the total number of pupils within a particular LSOA receiving tuition on instrument  $i$ .  $p$  is the total number of pupils receiving tuition on all instruments in that LSOA.  $P_i$  is the total number of pupils receiving tuition on the instrument nationally, and  $P$  is the total number receiving tuition on all instruments.  $P_i$  and  $P$  are drawn from data included in Hallam *et al* (2005). However, due to differences in the categorisation of instruments it was necessary to make use of a MySQL ‘lookup table’ (DuBois, 2003) and this is reproduced in Appendix 3. One limitation of these different categorisations was that it was not possible to calculate ILQs for all of the instruments represented in the case study data. This was because equivalents did not exist in Hallam *et al*’s data (e.g. it did not include instrument-level data for many non-Western or folk instruments, such as bodhran and santoor).

Moran’s  $I$  tests were conducted at both LSOA and OA levels. ILQs were found to feature statistically significant levels of spatial autocorrelation at both areal levels for three instruments: flute, guitar and violin. A further six instruments were found to have ILQs with statistically significant levels of autocorrelation at *either* output area *or* LSOA level. Since statistical

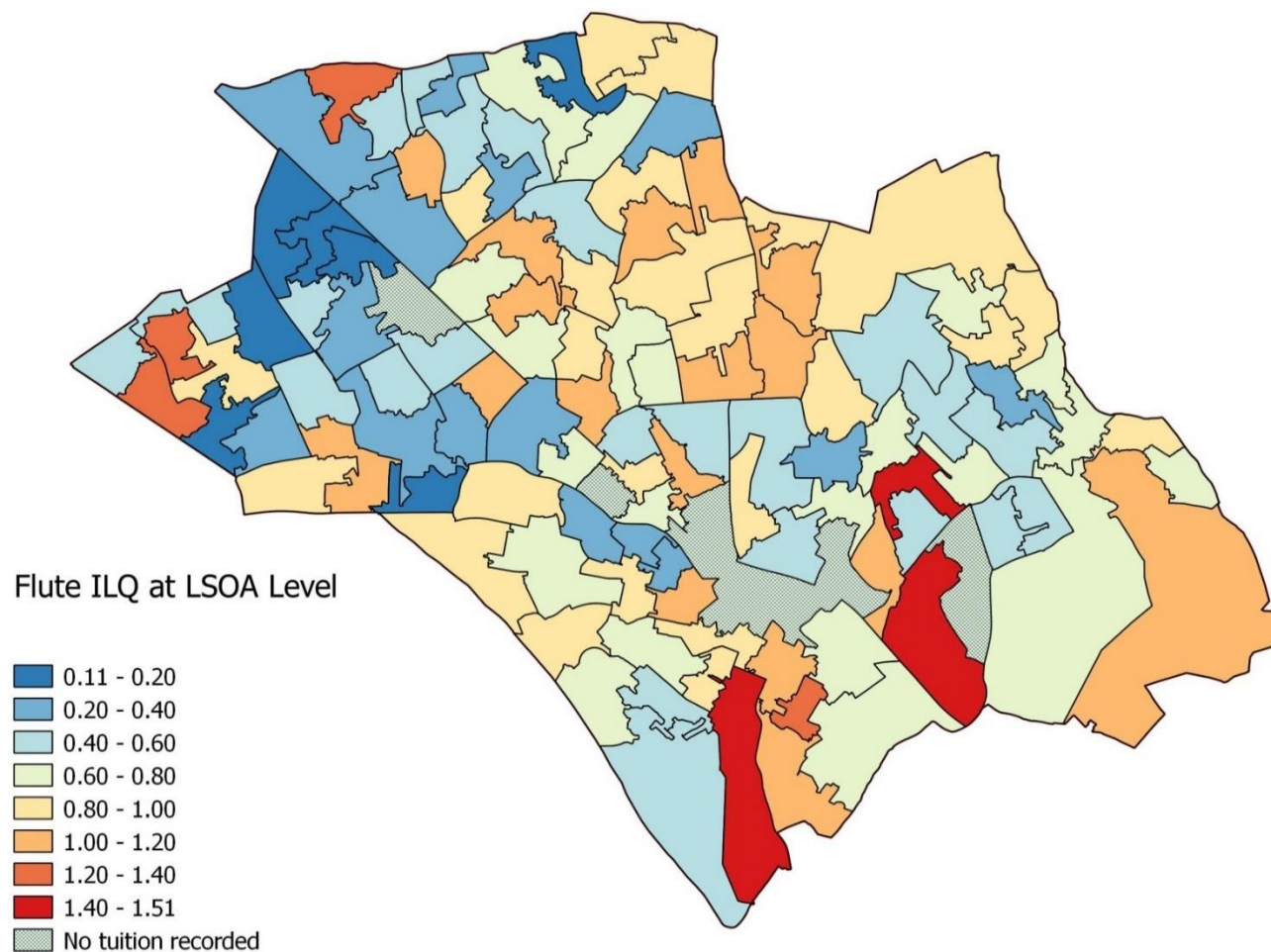
significance was not identified at both levels, it was possible that the latter six results were affected by the MAUP. In the case of flute, guitar and violin ILQs, however, statistical significance at two areal unit levels offered confirmation of genuine spatial variation. The ILQs for these three instruments are plotted as choropleth maps in figures 8.23, 8.24 and 8.25. Values for  $I$ , along with associated  $p$  levels, for all nine ILQs can be found in Table 8.1.

**Table 8.1** The results of statistically significant Moran's  $I$  tests on ILQs. All of these tests were conducted at both LSOA and OA level. ILQ spatial distributions for flute, guitar and violin were significant at both areal resolutions.

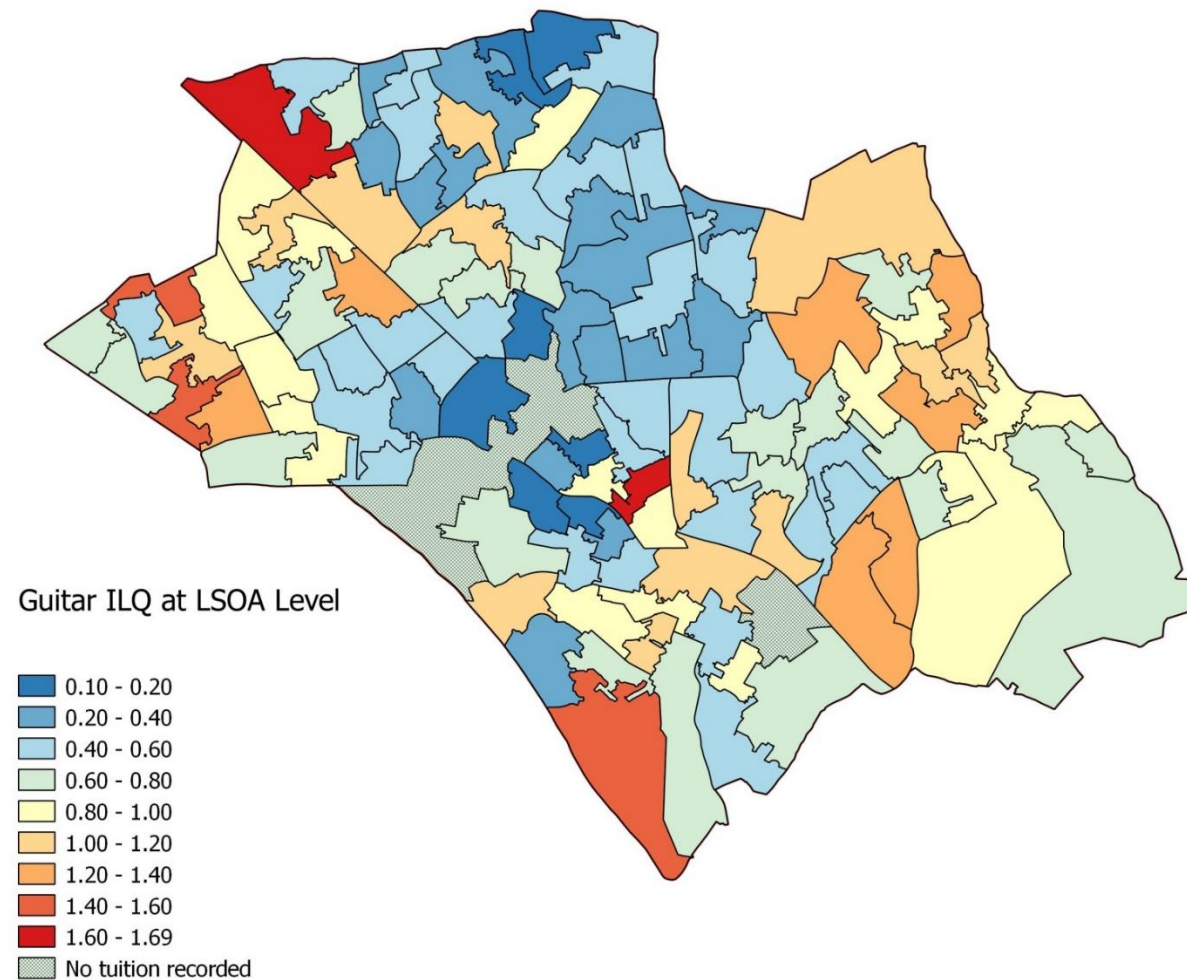
Instrument	Moran's $I$ results at Output Area Level	Moran's $I$ results at LSOA Level
Flute	$I = 0.13688$ ; $p = <0.001$	$I = 0.11726$ ; $p = <0.05$
Guitar	$I = 0.12230$ ; $p = <0.001$	$I = 0.24345$ ; $p = <0.0001$
Violin	$I = 0.12084$ ; $p = <0.0001$	$I = 0.20751$ ; $p = <0.0001$
Cello	•	$I = 0.15668$ ; $p = <0.01$
Clarinet	$I = 0.17739$ ; $p = <0.00001$	•
Steel Pans	•	$I = 0.4196$ ; $p = <0.0001$
Trumpet	•	$I = 0.16216$ ; $p = <0.01$
Voice – Asian	$I = 0.5164$ ; $p = <0.01$	•
Voice – Western	•	$I = 0.27779$ ; $p = <0.01$

With regard to flute, guitar and violin ILQs, figures 8.23, 8.24 and 8.25 clearly suggest that there were definite 'hot' spots (increasingly darker red) in the case study authority. Conversely, there were also 'cold' spots (in increasingly darker blue) indicating an absence of learners. Various socio-economic, environmental and school-related factors are evaluated with regard to their influence on these spatial patterns in Chapter 9. Nonetheless, it may be that there are more mundane—but no less important—reasons for these hot and cold spots. As documented in Chapter 4, logistical challenges in moving peripatetic teachers around a large urban area are well acknowledged and it

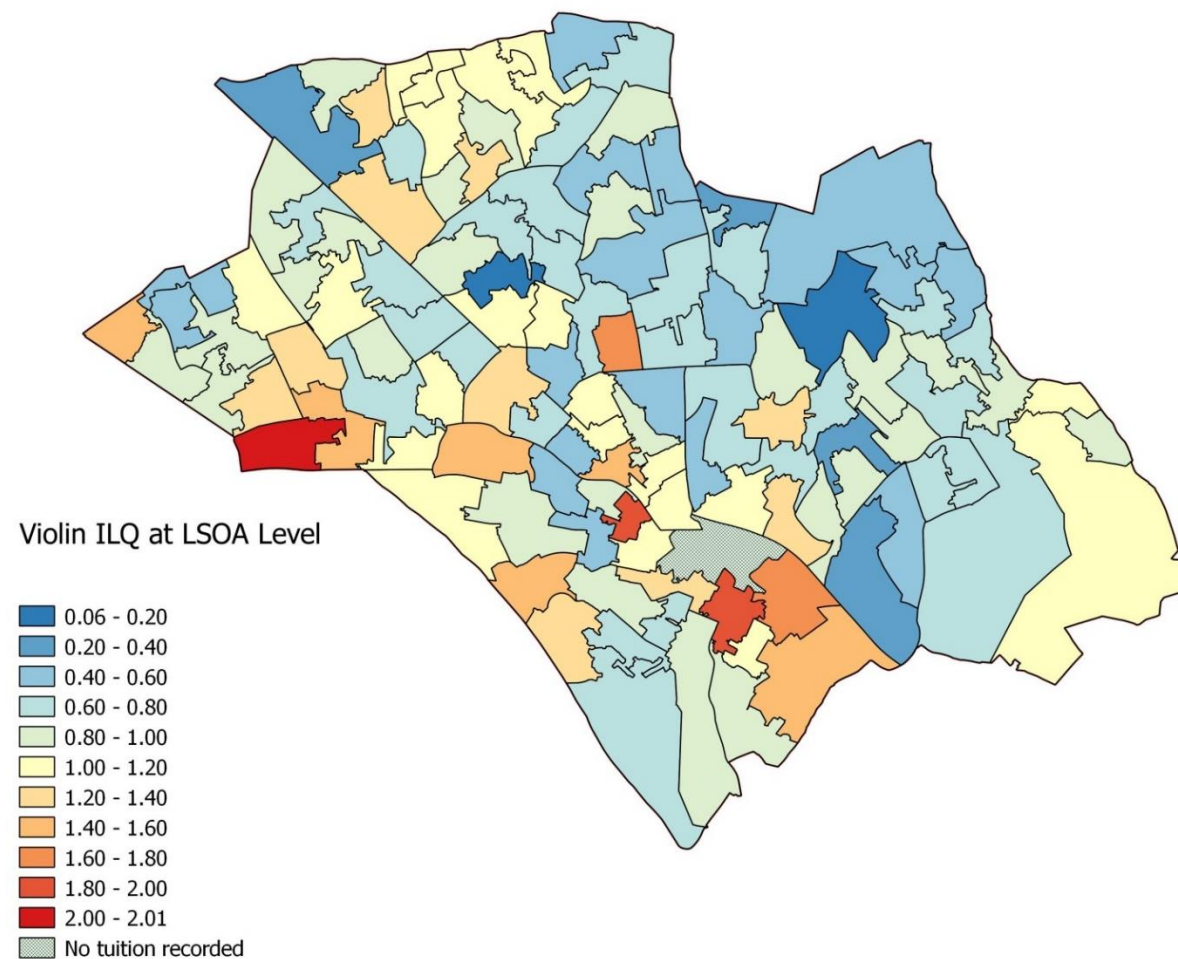
may be that here, such challenges resulted in certain areas becoming  
favoured in the distribution of provision.



**Figure 8.23** Flute ILQs as a choropleth map. Areas shaded increasingly darker blue indicate numbers of pupils receiving flute tuition below the prevailing national level. Areas increasingly darker red indicate numbers in excess of the national level.



**Figure 8.24** Guitar ILQs as a choropleth map. Areas shaded increasingly darker blue indicate numbers of pupils receiving guitar tuition below the prevailing national level. Areas increasingly darker red indicate numbers in excess of the national level.



**Figure 8.25** Violin ILQs as a choropleth map. Areas shaded increasingly darker blue indicate numbers of pupils receiving violin tuition below the prevailing national level. Areas increasingly darker red indicate numbers in excess of the national level.

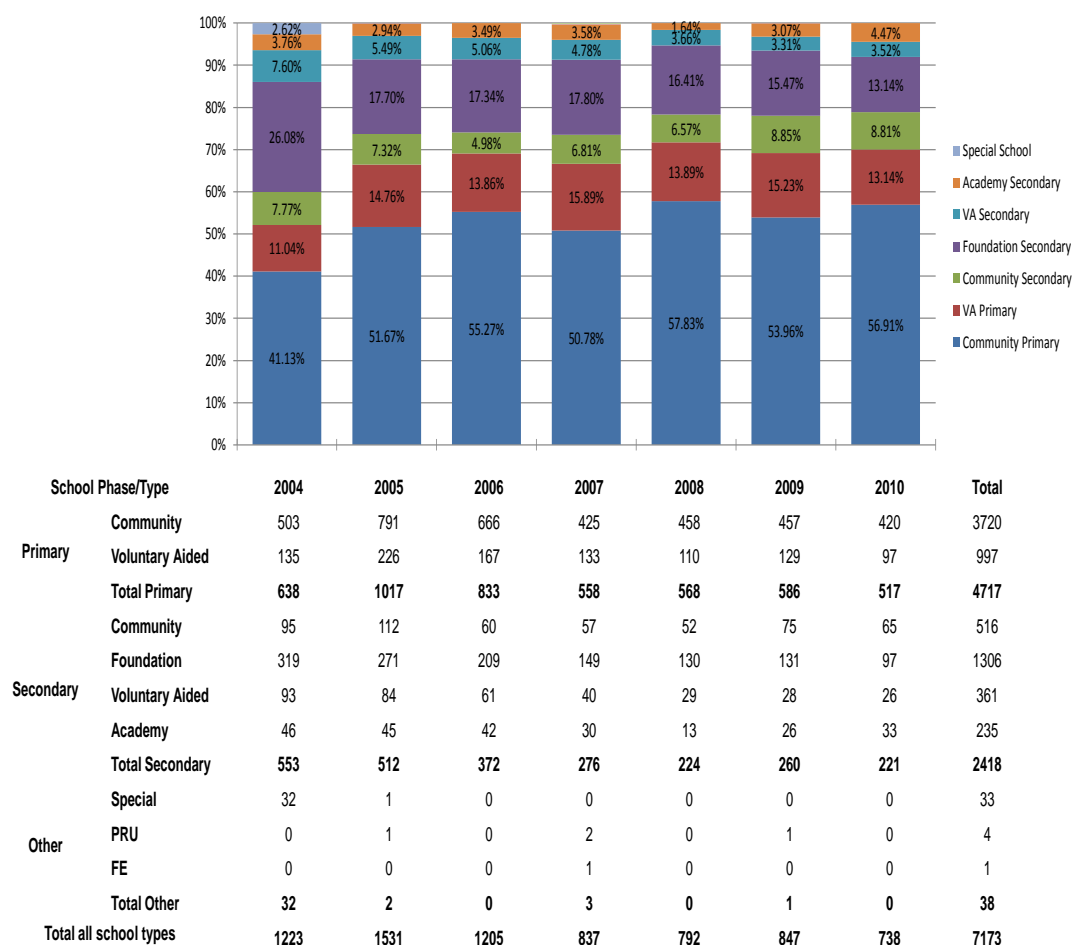
## **School characteristics and home-school distances**

Figure 8.26 summarises the total numbers of pupils by school type in each year of the case study data period. However, before considering the relationship between instrumental tuition and local school factors, it should be recalled that during the case study period the tuition 'contract' was between the music service and the parents of individual pupils. Schools were thus not responsible for 'buying back' tuition for pupils, though they did have an important role to provide a venue for the tuition. Nonetheless, on the basis of themes explored in Chapter 4, it seems possible that one reason for the variance in participation, according to figure 8.26, relates to wider notions of 'school culture'. This may impact on the perception of music within the school and its catchment area. These are issues that will be explored below and in more detail in later chapters.

### *School type*

Since the case study data included information on schools attended, it was possible to establish the numbers of learners attending each type of institution at a given time. Information on school phase and type was obtained by matching case study data with records held in the government's *Edubase* directory (DfE, 2014).





**Figure 8.27** A breakdown of the total number of pupils attending each type of school over the seven-year case study period. Only pupils living within the boundaries of the case study borough are included.

A number of important observations can be made on the basis of figure 8.27. Firstly, there is little participation from pupils being educated in settings other than primary and secondary schools. (The higher number of special school pupils participating in 2004 relates to a one-off project—see Chapter 7.) Secondly, one observes consistently higher levels of participation amongst primary-aged pupils than those attending secondary schools. This parallels the contemporaneous national picture to some extent. Hallam *et al*'s (2005) survey found that 57.75% of all young people in receipt of music service tuition were in KS2, whereas only 42.25% were in higher key stages. Within the case study authority, the equivalent division in 2005 was 66.51% primary and 33.49% secondary. Two matters discussed above come to mind. First, figure 8.10 already established that the majority of case study pupils commenced tuition during their primary school years. Chapter 7 explained that this was the music service's policy. Secondly, figure 8.13 revealed that

there was marked spatial variation differences in the numbers of pupils who continued to study their instrument at secondary school. However, even in areas where PST was high, the proportion of secondary continuers was never higher than 29%.

Earlier in this chapter, an association was identified between a rise in tuition fees and an overall dip in participation between 2005 to 2006. This dip can also be seen in figure 8.27. Participation drops in every type of school. However, there are differences in the size of these decreases between primary and secondary aged pupils. The total number of primary school pupils decreases by 33%, whereas the total number of secondary school pupils decreases by 26%. One explanation for this might be that since older pupils will have negotiated the primary-secondary transfer successfully, they will already have invested significantly personally, and their parents will have invested significantly financially. Therefore, they may well have decided to continue their studies, having got so far. In contrast, parents of primary-aged pupils who were still relative newcomers to their instrument may have feel that the increase in fees could not be justified on the same basis.

As noted, variation in provision levels by school type was not associated schools' decisions to 'buy in' more or less tuition. With this in mind, it is interesting to note that the two academies had persistently lower levels of provision than other types of secondary school. Both schools converted to academies in a bid to counteract perceived longstanding problems with pupil achievement, behaviour, aspiration and motivation (Education Correspondent, 2007). In line with the findings of Chapter 4, it is conceivable that the lower levels of instrumentation tuition observed amongst academy pupils may well reflect the schools' historic culture and the socio-economic profile of their catchment area.

### *Home-school distances*

Chapter 4 documented the longstanding perceived concerns that geographical factors may affect a young person's ability to access and sustain instrumental tuition. In order to explore the potential impact of these factors, simple geodesic (i.e. 'as the crow flies') distances were computed

between pupils' homes and their schools attended<sup>82</sup>. The main advantage of using geodesic distances is that comparisons can be made with other studies that also use them (e.g. Burgess *et al*, 2006). However, their main disadvantage is that they can differ from 'real-world', land-based distances, particularly where individuals have to negotiate environmental impediments and the idiosyncrasies of the road network. Therefore, in order to achieve more accurate measurements, use was also made of the Google Maps API (Kolobikhin, 2011; Google, 2015). This enables users to submit origin and destination postcodes and have the Google Maps server return an accurate distance, based on walking routes (i.e. taking into account records of footpaths and pavements held in the Google database)<sup>83</sup>. Table 8.2 below provides a summary of the average geodesic and walking home-school distances for each type of school.

**Table 8.2** Summary of average geodesic and walking home-school distances for each type of school in the case study data.

School Type	Average home to school distance (km)	
	Geodesic	Walking
Primary School	0.95	1.69
VA Primary School	1.69	2.88
Community/Foundation Secondary School	1.35	2.19
VA Secondary School	3.42	4.41
Academy Secondary School	1.40	2.48
Special School	4.42	6.86
FE College	1.38	4.45
Pupil Referral Unit	2.77	3.98

Table 8.2 confirms that it was special school pupils who had to travel the furthest. Pupils attending VA schools also travelled considerable average distances. This is consistent with findings of Burgess *et al* (2006), whose analysis of national school distance data showed that pupils at Catholic schools had to travel an average geodesic distance of 3.86km to school. The average geodesic home-school distance for secondary aged pupils was

<sup>82</sup> A Perl computer program was developed, drawing on source code by Veness (2010). This program took the Ordnance Survey National Grid coordinates for each pupil's home postcode and the coordinates for each of their schools (from DfE, 2014) and returned geodesic distances in metres.

<sup>83</sup> Home and school postcodes were submitted to the Google Maps API using a specially-written Perl script (drawing on source code by Kolobikhin, 2011).

2.54km, a little higher than the 2.44km average distance reported by Burgess *et al* (2006).

### *Total Tuition Years by School*

In a bid to assess the how instrumental tuition was sustained by pupils attending different types of schools in different areas of the authority, the Total Tuition Years (School) measure or TTY(S) was developed. This was calculated using equation 8.5:

$$TTY(S)_{sch} = \frac{(\sum t_{sch}) \div 365.25}{p_{sch}} \quad (8.5)$$

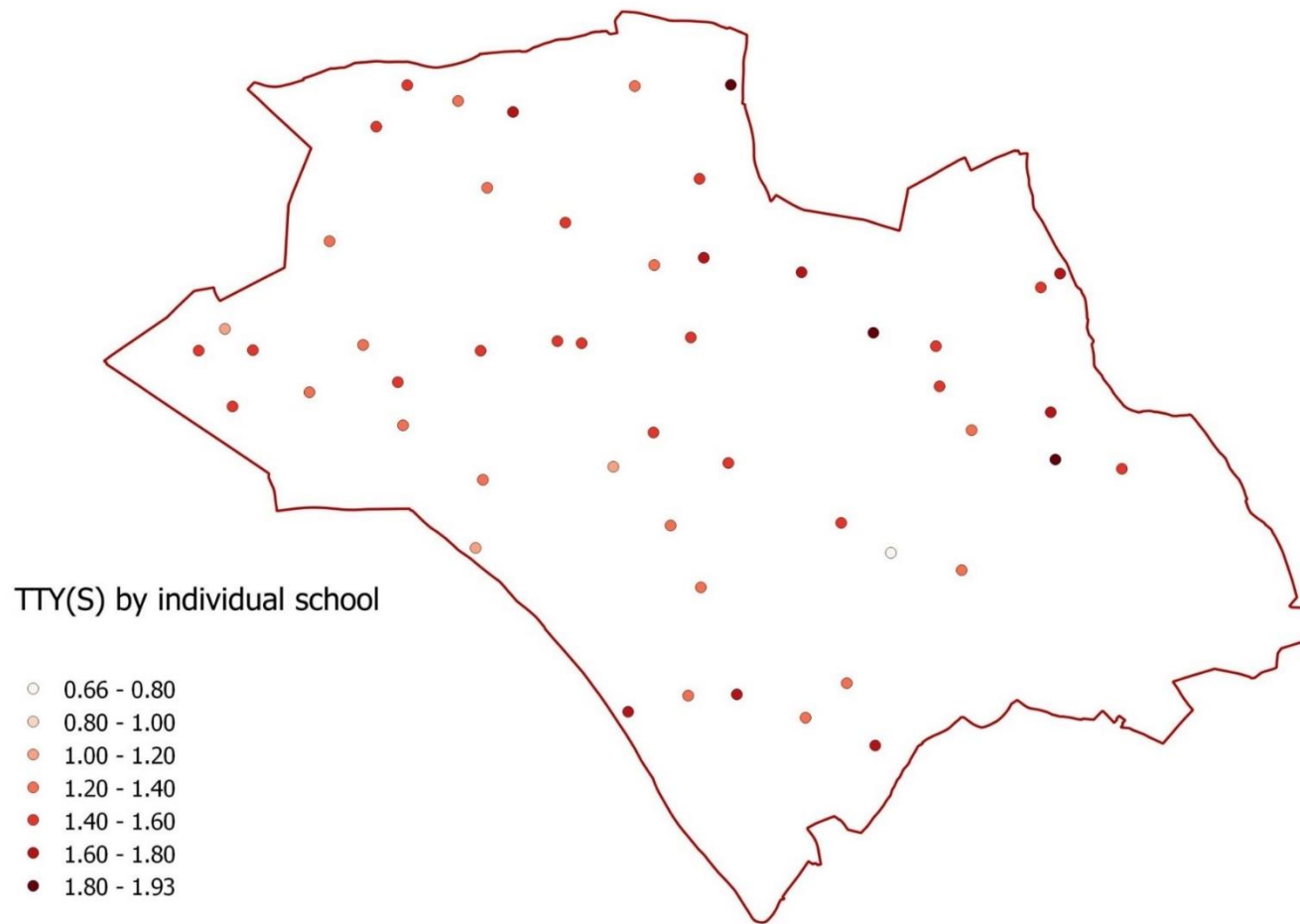
Here,  $t_{sch}$  denotes the total duration in days of each tuition episode completed by each participant attending school  $sch$ . This is converted to years.  $p_{sch}$  is the total number of young people receiving tuition over the course of the period covered by the data.

Table 8.3 summarises mean TTS(Y) by school type. By way of a reference figure, Table 8.3 also includes a ‘snapshot’ of tuition take-up at a single point in time: 19<sup>th</sup> January 2005. This was the date of the school census closest to the chronological mid-point of the case study data. This ‘snapshot’ is expressed as a percentage of the total number of pupils on school roll.

A Moran’s  $I$  test revealed that the TTY(S) values of individual schools exhibited a statistically significant degree of spatial autocorrelation ( $I = 0.27920$ ;  $p = 0.001$ ). As is evident in figure 8.28, schools in the north-east of the authority tended to exhibit higher values for TTY(S). However, there were also smaller clusters of schools with higher TTY(S) values in the south and east. Conversely, a group of schools in the south west had generally lower TTY(S) values as a whole. The relatively strong value of  $I$  confirms that the TTY(S) calculation functions a useful means of differentiating schools in the case study data.

**Table 8.3** Schools types represented in the case study data, along with the mean TTY(S) values. For each group, the mean number of music service pupils (expressed as a percentage of the total number on roll at 19<sup>th</sup> January 2005) is also given (school roll data from SFR42/2005).

School Type		Total number of schools of this type	Mean % of school roll in receipt of music service tuition on 19 <sup>th</sup> Jan 2005	Mean TTY(S)
Primary	Community	33	9.52	1.37
	Voluntary Aided	5	15.03	1.50
	Total Primary	38	10.27	1.39
Secondary	Community	3	5.55	1.50
	Foundation	5	7.49	1.72
	Voluntary Aided	1	9.82	1.82
	Academy	3	4.21	1.59
	Total Secondary	12	6.38	1.64



**Figure 8.28** Total Tuition Years (School): dots coloured in darker red denote higher TTY(S) values.

## Summary

A great deal of information has been presented in this chapter and the reader would be forgiven for finding it difficult at times to identify interrelationships between the various figures, measures and test results presented. This summary offers some brief qualitative, holistic interpretations of these findings as they pertain to six distinct LSOAs within the case study authority (see figure 8.29). These LSOAs have been chosen on the basis both of geographical dispersal and distinctive characteristics. In each case, I have attempted to illuminate these brief 'pen portraits' at the human-level through personal reflection drawing on professional experiences of working with local young people.

### *'North' LSOA*

Between 2003-10, young people living in this LSOA were relatively unlikely to access music service tuition: an SRLQ(L) score of 0.44 suggests that take-up was less than half the equivalent figure in the national population (This said, an ERLQ of 1.19 suggests that, of those taking part, a higher proportion were from BAME backgrounds.) Average tuition cessation ages occurred within the primary age range. The low PST score (slightly over 1%) confirms that the vast majority of pupils did not continue their lessons beyond one term of secondary school. In fact, the average number of years of tuition received by pupils was 1.58, with fewer than 5% continuing for longer than two years. These shorter tuition periods are consistent with the average TTY(S) scores for the local three primary, and three secondary schools. During the case study period, no child received music service tuition on more than one instrument. Well below the national proportion of children were learning either violin or guitar, but the numbers being taught flute were consistent with the prevailing national figure. Just over 11% were learning Endangered Species instruments, with a very small number (3.7%) studying South Asian cultural instruments. No child learned an Irish or Caribbean cultural instrument during the period covered by the data.

My recollections from teaching young people from this area during the case study period can potentially shed light on this particular LSOA profile. As was shown in Table 7.1, the case study local authority was home to considerably higher numbers of people from Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean and Black African backgrounds than England and Wales as a whole. Within these figures, my professional experience confirms that the 'North' LSOA was home to particularly high numbers of young people from these four BAME backgrounds. Whilst children from Black backgrounds were well served by the music service (in terms of the numbers receiving tuition compared with the numbers in the local population as a whole), children from Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds were far less likely to be undertaking tuition (see figure 8.7).

It is certainly the case that far fewer pupils from Bangladeshi and Pakistani backgrounds came forward to study post-16 music courses during the case study period and that this specific area witnessed even lower levels of post-16 musical progression. Figures to be presented in Chapter 9 (Table 9.18) show that pupils from Bangladeshi and Pakistani backgrounds demonstrated a particular preference for the violin during the case study period. However, as noted above, figures for the take up of tuition on this particular instrument in this LSOA were well below national averages. Moreover, the numbers of young people taking up South Asian instruments was also very low. This, combined with the fact that many local music service participants gave up their tuition by the time they reached secondary school, suggests that there may exist broader cultural reasons to explain why music is less likely to feature in the formal education of local children from these backgrounds as they get older (c.f. Harris, 2006). This would certainly resonate with my professional experience of working with young people from this area.

In contrast, the numbers of young people from Black backgrounds coming forward grew steadily over this same period. A particular draw for these pupils was our BTEC popular music performance provision which began in September 2007. Professional experience suggests that many of these young musicians had developed their often-considerable practical skills *not*



through music service tuition but *instead* via an apprenticeship-style process of 'sitting in' worship bands within the local, vibrant Gospel church community. This would explain why, notwithstanding higher ERLQ figures for this LSOA, the total number of young people accessing tuition in this area was so much lower than elsewhere. It would also explain why, despite this lower level of participation in music service tuition, many young people from these backgrounds who lived in and around this LSOA were still sufficiently expert in terms of musicianship and performance experience to enable them access post-16 level music qualifications.

### *'North East' LSOA*

4.5km to the north east, the number of young people accessing case study music service tuition between 2003 and 2010 was approaching twice the national proportion ( $SRLQ(L)=1.78$ ). However, the number from BAME backgrounds was far lower than the equivalent national proportion ( $ERLQ=0.42$ ). Although the average cessation age was 11.78 years, over 12% of participants did continue after a term in secondary school. Those that continued into secondary school tended to pursue their lessons for longer; the average time spent studying an instrument was 1.81 years. It was not unusual for young people to be in receipt of tuition on more than one instrument. A very small number (2.9%) were learning Irish cultural instruments but no pupil was taught a South Asian instrument or the steel pans during the case study period. One in ten pupils was learning an Endangered Species instrument and the number learning guitar was in line with the national picture. Fewer young people were learning flute or violin than in the national KS2-4 school population.

Professional experience from having taught young people from this area during the case study period suggests that local school culture may have been a particularly influential factor in this LSOA profile. During this period, it is known that at least one primary school employed a music coordinator with particularly strong graduate-level knowledge and performance experience in the subject. Strong musical experiences at the primary level are likely to have been one reason why considerably higher numbers of young people

continued with their instrumental studies into secondary schools. Moreover, this LSOA was in the catchment area of two local secondary schools which also had prominent local reputations for the quality of their music provision. (As a result, they were often sought as a first choice by parents from elsewhere in the borough who aspired for their children to benefit). Again, these schools had stable, strong teams of specialist classroom music teachers. Building on a finding from Chapter 4 relating to the influence of geographical location of music centres, it is also likely to be significant that one of the two Saturday music schools (see Chapter 7) was hosted by one of these schools.

### *'East' LSOA*

In this most eastward LSOA, tuition take-up was close to the national level (SRLQ(L)=1.06). However, the number participating from BAME backgrounds was just a quarter of the equivalent national proportion. On average, learners tended to continue lessons until they were just over twelve years old. As a result, the average TTY(S) score for the local three secondary schools was higher than in many other areas (1.81 years). Interestingly, many also began lessons after the age of 11 since PST was just 8.64%. Overall, just over one in ten pupils pursued lessons for longer than two years. No pupil received tuition on South Asian or Caribbean instruments between 2003 and 2010, but 7% learned Irish instruments with the music service. One in seven pupils was learning an Endangered Species instrument, and flute and violin tuition were also well above national trends. Conversely, relatively few pupils were learning the guitar in comparison. It was relatively common for pupils to be in receipt of tuition on more than one instrument.

Professional experience suggests a complex range of divergent influences on this overall LSOA profile. This area, along with the 'South' LSOA discussed below, were close to the town's two main railway stations. As noted in Chapter 7, the transport infrastructure of the case study authority was excellent and attracted many incomers who used it as a base for commuting to work during the period of time covered by the case study. The higher paid, higher status job roles related to commuting profiles are perhaps reflected in strong local levels of cultural capital. This may be one reason for

the far higher take-up of 'Endangered Species' instruments in both the 'East' and 'South' LSOAs. The presence of more powerful 'resource boosters' (see summaries of Chapter 4 and Chapter 6) may also explain why pupils tended to continue with their instrumental studies for longer and, in some cases, to start additional instruments at an older age. On the other hand, there were far lower levels of participation in music service tuition by some particular sections of the community, including young people from various BAME backgrounds. As was the case in the 'North' LSOA, one reason for this may be the presence of alternative models of provision. In this case, the area's large Irish population may well have been served by community-based *Comhaltas* groups who were known to have been very active in this area. A further possible factor relates to the loss in the early 2000s of several manufacturers, who were key local employers and whose workforce drew disproportionately on BAME groups (see Chapter 7). The resulting economic hardship may have proved an insurmountable barrier for some.

### *'South' LSOA*

This LSOA to the south of the authority was characterised by relatively high levels of engagement with case study music service tuition between 2003 and 2010. It had one of the highest SRLQ(L) scores outside the cluster of LSOAs in the north east of the borough (see figure 8.3). Here again, participation by BAME young people was considerably below the national level (ERLQ=0.64). Pupils tended to cease tuition around the primary-secondary transfer point, though, overall, one-third did continue lessons for two years or more. The combination of low PST and high TTY(S) values for local secondary schools suggests that it was quite common for pupils to start tuition once having reached secondary school. Again, one in seven learned an Endangered Species instrument and just over 5% studied Irish cultural instruments. A handful each learned South Asian and Caribbean instruments. The number learning guitar was only half the national equivalent, whilst violin take-up was largely in line with national levels. More pupils were taught the flute than in the national KS2-4 population overall. Again, it was relatively common for pupils to be taught on more than one instrument.

With regard to my professional experience of teaching pupils from this area, much of what has already been said about the 'East' LSOA also applies here. One additional factor, given the stronger levels of cultural and economic capital locally, is that experience suggests that some families sought to send their children the secondary schools serving the 'North East' LSOA. This trend may have reduced what might have otherwise been an even higher value for TYT(S). Moreover, whilst only a few young people from this particular LSOA undertook tuition on steel pans during the case study period, figure 8.19 suggests that this is likely to be unrepresentative of the area as a whole. My professional experience suggests that steel pan ensembles were strongly embedded in local schools and youth centres (also see figure 9.8). As was noted in Chapter 7, the founding head of the music service was a key local musical figure. Prior to taking up this role, he was a head of music in one of the local secondary schools serving this area and was known to have spearheaded steel pan tuition and ensemble opportunities during this time.

### *'Central' LSOA*

Tuition take-up in this LSOA was barely over half the national level and the numbers of BAME pupils was also very low. During the case study period, no young person received music service tuition on any non-Western or Endangered Species instrument. Similarly, the number studying both flute and violin were below national equivalents (the violin considerably below: ILQ=0.48). This said, the number being taught guitar was far closer to the national level (ILQ=1.07). The average length of tuition was lower than in many other LSOAs (1.37 years), with local primary schools, in particular, having an average TTY(S) score of 1.32 years. Overall, only 2.4% of participants continued for longer than two years. Moreover, the primary-secondary transition proved to be a considerable impediment, with only 2.4% of learners continuing. No young person learned a second instrument with the music service between 2003 and 2010.

Professional reflection in this case suggests that lower local levels of social and economic capital may have influenced this particular LSOA profile. The range of preferred instruments is also potentially significant, and pre-empta a

discussion in Chapter 9 relating to various socio-economic proxy indicators for guitar tuition take-up in particular (see sections of the text relating to Table 9.19 and figure 9.10). A related factor is that, during the case study period, it is recalled that one of the main secondary schools serving this area found it difficult to retain specialist music teaching staff for longer periods. The relatively quick succession of heads of music in this school was perhaps one reason why the number of local young people coming forward to study music at the post-16 level ebbed and flowed from year to year.

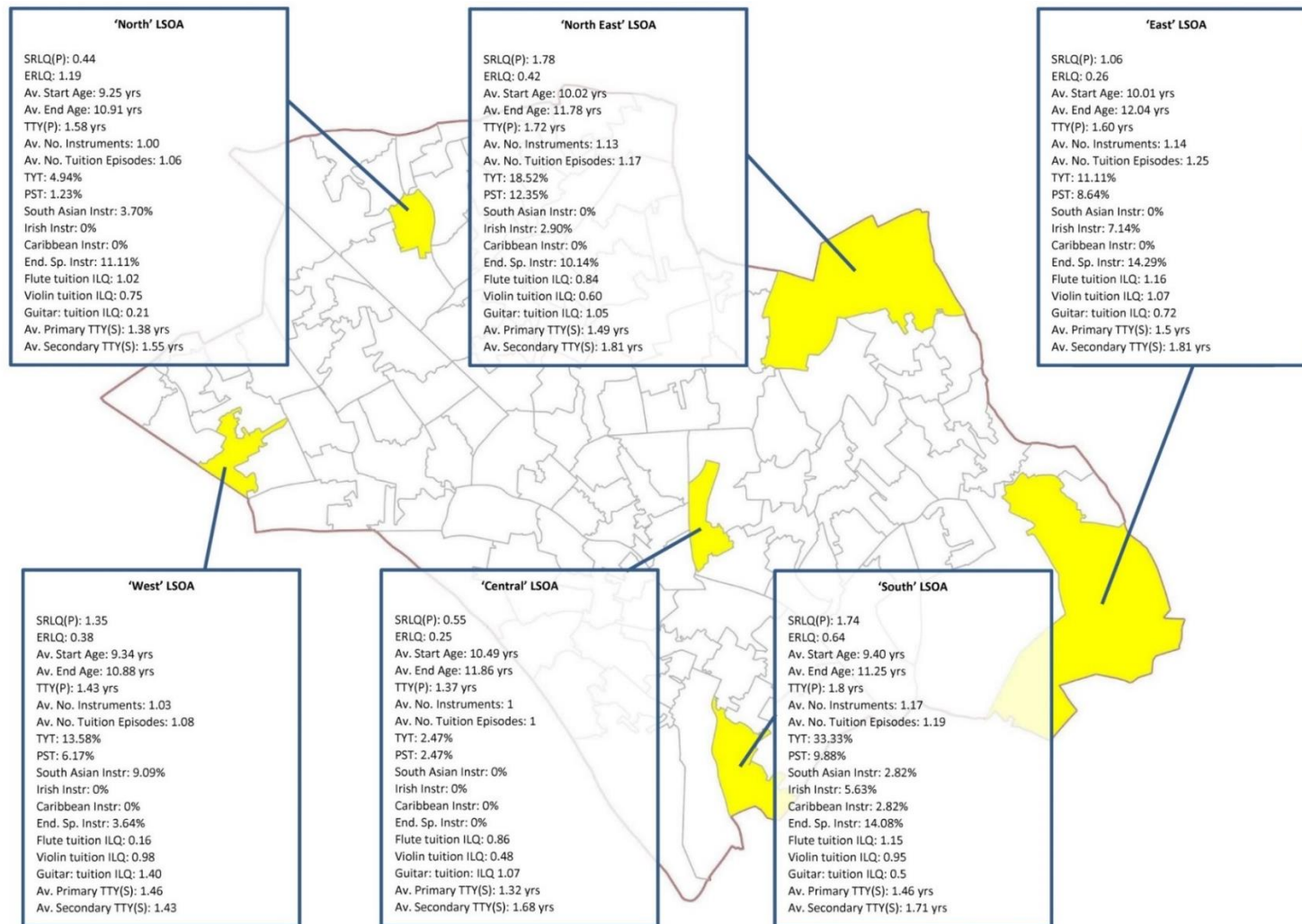
### *'West' LSOA*

Considerably more young people in this western LSOA took up tuition than in the national KS2-4 population. Once again, however, participation by BAME young people was much lower (ERLQ=0.38). Tuition was often ceased at relatively young ages, and the average length of tuition overall was at the short end of the range (1.43 years). This was reflected in lower average TTY(S) scores for both primary and secondary schools. Nonetheless, around one in seven pupils did continue for at least two years. Relatively few (6.17%) navigated the primary-secondary transition. Around one in ten pupils was studying a South Asian cultural instrument, yet none at all studied Irish instruments or steel pans. Flute tuition was extremely low (ILQ=0.16) but violin was in line with national trends. Considerably more young people were in receipt of guitar tuition than in the national KS2-4 population. A tiny proportion of the total number of pupils was studying an Endangered Species instrument. A few pupils undertook tuition on more than one instrument.

Professional experience of working with young people from this area suggests that, as in the case of the 'Central' LSOA, lower levels of social, cultural *and* economic capital may have explained the apparent disparity between the numbers taking up tuition and the numbers pursuing this tuition for the long-term. This area of the authority forms a commuting 'corridor' to another nearby town. However, in recent decades, both the neighbouring town and the more immediate area have lost large-scale manufacturing employers. Professional experience suggests that this has left this area rather isolated in terms of both economic opportunity but also access to local amenities and transport links. Those with the sufficient capital may seek work

and leisure opportunities beyond the immediate area, reducing the local cultural and social offer. The apparent link between lower levels of music service take-up and attendance at local secondary schools with academy status has been highlighted earlier in this chapter. It is perhaps not coincidental that this area witnessed the town's first academy conversion in the mid-2000s. Building on the conclusions from Phase 1, it may be that these lower levels of social, cultural and economic capital resulted in fewer practical resource boosters with which to overcome hidden barriers to participation. This would go some way to explaining why, despite initially strong levels of local recruitment (perhaps as a result of KS2 WO schemes?) pupils are not well placed to persist with tuition to older ages, and across the primary-secondary transition.

These six summaries clearly illustrate that, even within this very tightly compact local authority, young people's engagement with music service tuition varied considerably. Chapter 9 now seeks to explain this variation with reference to a wide range of predictor variables, selected as proxies for the hidden barriers identified during phase 1.



**Figure 8.29** A selection of six LSOAs, chosen to illustrate variation in music service engagement within the case study authority.

## Chapter 9 - Developing OLS regression models from the case study data

### Introduction

Chapter 8 offered an overview of music service participation in the case study local authority. In the process, spatial variation was identified within various aspects of the data. This variation was found to be statistically significant at two spatial resolutions, giving confidence that they were due to genuine effects and not confounded by the MAUP. Previously, phase 1 of this research identified a series of 'hidden barriers' to music service instrumental tuition. These were based on underlying socio-economic, educational and geographical factors commonly perceived by practitioners and researchers as having impacted on young people's ability to engage with this tuition.

The aim of this chapter is to bring the various strands of the research together, in order to consider the extent to which the identified barriers might have influenced the spatial variation observed in the case study data. A wide range of proxy variables have been employed to represent the hidden barriers as closely as possible<sup>84</sup>. These are used as 'predictors' for a series of OLS regression models. Recalling this authority's characterisation as a 'deviant case', the goal is to assess the extent to which these hidden barriers may have continued to exert an influence on the provision of a well-funded, well-organised music service between 2003 and 2010.

As noted in Chapter 2, it was not expected that each OLS regression model would have an  $R^2$  value close to 1.0. Nonetheless, several of the models *did* exhibit  $R^2$  values above 0.5, suggesting that *over half* the variance in the data could be explained by the influence of the selected proxy variables.

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<sup>84</sup> Where proxy variable data was available at more than one chronological point, the data set collected closest to the mid-point of the case study period (e.g. c.2006-07) was selected for use.



Table 9.1 shows how the models form three distinct groups, intended to reflect the various types of hidden barrier. The first group employs a wide range of socio-economic and local environmental proxy variables as predictors. The second and third models are more focused, dealing more specifically with matters surrounding home-school distances, instrument choice and various school factors.

**Table: 9.1** The organisation of the three groups of OLS regression models presented in Chapter 9.

<b>Model Group 1: Neighbourhood socio-economic profile and local environment factors</b>	<b>Outcome variables:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Average Service Reach Location Quotient for the LSOA (SRLQ(L))</li> <li>• Ethnicity Ratio Location Quotient (ERLQ)</li> <li>• Total Tuition Years Per Participant (TTY(P))</li> <li>• Average age at the point when tuition ceased</li> <li>• Two-year 'neuroplasticity' measure (TYT)</li> <li>• Primary-secondary transfer measure (PST)</li> <li>• Average number of instruments on which tuition was received</li> <li>• Percentage of pupils undertaking tuition in key instrumental categories: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ South Asian cultural instruments</li> <li>○ Irish cultural instruments</li> <li>○ Caribbean cultural instruments (steel pans)</li> <li>○ Endangered Species scheme instruments</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Instruments with spatial distributions exhibiting autocorrelation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Flute</li> <li>○ Violin</li> <li>○ Guitar</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Model Group 2: School-home distance and instrument physical properties</b>	<b>Outcome variables:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total instrumental tuition time (in days) whilst at primary school</li> <li>• Total instrumental tuition time (in days) whilst at secondary school</li> </ul>
<b>Model Group 3: School factors</b>	<b>Outcome variables:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total number of music service pupils as percentage of school roll</li> <li>• Total tuition years per school pupil</li> <li>• Percentage of pupils completing two years of tuition (TYT)</li> <li>• Average number of instruments on which tuition was received by pupils attending the school</li> <li>• Percentage of pupils undertaking tuition on key instrumental categories: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ South Asian cultural instruments</li> <li>○ Irish cultural instruments</li> <li>○ Caribbean cultural instruments (steel pans)</li> <li>○ Endangered Species scheme instruments</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Percentage of pupils undertaking tuition on instruments with spatial distributions exhibiting autocorrelation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Flute</li> <li>○ Violin</li> <li>○ Guitar</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

### **Model Group 1: Neighbourhood socio-economic profile and local environment factors**

Model 1 explores the salience of hidden barriers relating to young people's local environment, demographic and social-economic profiles:

- Socio-economic status (middle vs working class);
- ability to pay fees and other costs;
- family vehicle ownership;
- perceptions and realities regarding pupils' home life and environment;
- family value/awareness of arts and culture; and
- ethnic/cultural background of pupil.

The areal unit of analysis throughout is the LSOA, since the predictor variables were all published at this level. Table 9.2 lists the initial predictor variables shortlisted for inclusion within this group of models.

**Table 9.2** Initial predictor proxy variables shortlisted for inclusion in the local environment and socio-economic models in Group 1. Links are made between groups of variables and the various 'hidden barriers' highlighted in Chapter 4.

Dataset/Measure	Variable name in models	Time period of dataset	Source	Data summary
<b>Income deprivation</b> ('ability to pay fees e.g. tuition, purchase/hire instruments')				
English Indices of Deprivation 2010: Income Deprivation Domain	IMD2010IncDomScore	August-September 2008	ONS Neighbourhood Statistics  McLennan <i>et al</i> (2011)	Min: 0.0274 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 0.1044 Median: 0.1774 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 0.2718 Max: 0.4449  (higher values =greater income deprivation)
<b>Socio-economic status (approximated social grade)</b> ('middle class 'sense of entitlement' vs. working class 'sense of constraint')				
Census 2001: Approximated Social Grade (table UV50)	PC_ABC1	April 2001	ONS Neighbourhood Statistics  MRS (2004)	Min: 25.7% 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 37.4% Median: 45.0% 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 51.5% Max: 75.8%
<b>Non-White British Ethnic Group as Percentage of Population</b> ('ethnic/cultural background of pupil')				
Census 2001: Ethnic Group (Table UV09)	PC_NonWhiteBritish	April 2001	ONS Neighbourhood Statistics	Min: 10.0% 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 20.7% Median: 29.8% 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 39.7% Max: 87.1%
<b>Household travel options</b> ('family vehicle ownership')				
Census 2001: Cars or Vans Available to Household (Table UV62)	PC_CAR	April 2001	ONS Neighbourhood Statistics	Min: 35.2% 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 65.7% Median: 76.2% 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 82.4% Max: 97.6%
Number of NaPTAN 'Stop Points' within 1km of LSOA population centre	LSOANaptanCount	2010-11	NaPTAN v2.4  DfT (2014)	Min: 20 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 53 Median: 65 3d Qu: 77 Max: 169  (raw counts)
<b>The quality of the local environment</b> ('perceptions and realities regarding pupils' home life and environment')				
English Indices of Deprivation 2010: Crime Domain	CrimeAndDisorderScore	Mid-2008	ONS Neighbourhood Statistics  McLennan <i>et al</i> (2011)	Min: -1.660 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 0.115 Median: 0.447 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 0.772 Max: 2.184  (higher values =greater prevalence of crime)

**Table 9.2** Initial predictor proxy variables shortlisted for inclusion in the local environment and socio-economic models in Group 1. Links are made between groups of variables and the various 'hidden barriers' highlighted in Chapter 4.

Dataset/Measure	Variable name in models	Time period of dataset	Source	Data summary
Local Index of Child Well-Being 2009: Housing Domain	HousingScore	April 2001	Department for Communities and Local Government  Bradshaw <i>et al</i> (2009)	Min: 8.44 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 21.21 Median: 27.11 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 34.73 Max: 66.16  (higher values= greater prevalence of poor housing)
<b>Educational indicators</b> ('family value/awareness of arts and culture')				
English Indices of Deprivation 2010: Children and Young People Subdomain	CYPSubDomScore	August-September 2008	ONS Neighbourhood Statistics  McLennan <i>et al</i> (2011)	Min: 2.35 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 13.66 Median: 20.96 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 35.41 Max: 60.39  (higher values= greater prevalence of 'educational deprivation')
Census 2001: Occupation Groups (Table UV30) '34. Culture, Media and Sports Occupations'	PC_CMS	April 2001	ONS Neighbourhood Statistics	Min: 0.000% 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 0.959% Median: 1.286% 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 1.659% Max: 3.140%
Census 2001: Qualifications (Table UV24) 'Level 4 / 5 qualifications'	PC_DegHolders	April 2001	ONS Neighbourhood Statistics	Min: 6.22% 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 11.92% Median: 14.12% 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 17.94% Max: 27.28%

### About the Group 1 predictor variables

Some of the predictors employed within this group of models are drawn directly from local level aggregations of 2001 Census data. However, the derivation of other predictors is not so straightforward and further explanation is required.

The 'Income Deprivation Domain' of the English Indices of Deprivation (IMD) 2010 has already been introduced in Chapter 9. It offers an indicator of the number of families<sup>85</sup> in the LSOA that were out-of-work, had low earnings, or received various means tested benefits (McLennan *et al*, 2011). The raw

<sup>85</sup>The IMD compilers use the term 'family' to indicate a single 'benefit unit', i.e. the benefit claimant, any partner and any dependent children (McLennan *et al*, 2011).

scores in this dataset translate readily to percentages, thus a score of 0.38 indicates that 38% of the LSOA population is classed as income deprived. Further information on how this domain is calculated is given in Appendix 4.

The IMD2010 'Crime Domain' offers a composite indicator of the recorded crime rate for four prominent crime types – violence, burglary, theft and criminal damage – collectively selected to 'represent the risk of personal and material victimisation at a small area level' (McLennan *et al*, 2011, 42). The IMD2010 'Children and Young People Subdomain' offers a composite rating of KS2-4 attainment, school absence and progression to further and higher education (McLennan *et al*, 2011). Further details are given in Appendix 4.

The MRS occupation classification system is a well-known indicator of socio-economic status, usually referred to as 'social grade' (MRS, 2006). Use of the MRS system enables comparison with other sources (e.g. ABRSM, 2000; ISM, 2011). Approximated social grade data is available at LSOA level, calculated from a range of 2001 Census indicators (MRS, 2004). In the present study the total number of individuals from the A, B and C1 classifications in each LSOA have been expressed as a percentage of its total population. Referred to below as 'ABC1', this group collectively embraces all those conventionally deemed 'middle class', including professional people, very senior managers, top-level civil servants, middle management executives in large organisations, principal officers in local government and civil service, managers and owners of small business concerns, educational and service establishments, junior managers, owners of small establishments, and all others in non-manual positions (MRS, 2006).

The National Public Transport Access Nodes (NaPTAN) system is the UK's means of identifying and categorising all public transport access points (e.g. bus stops and railway stations) (DfT, 2014). The use of this dataset as a predictor within the regression models was intended to assess the potential relationship between local public transport accessibility and instrumental tuition take-up. The specific measure employed is the number of 'stop points'

(essentially bus stops) within a 1km radius of the population centre of each LSOA.

The Local Index of Child Well-Being 2009 was the first attempt by national government to construct an index of children's welfare (Bradshaw *et al*, 2009). Environmental and social factors directly impacting on the life of children were identified and suitable indicators combined to form series of composite 'domains'. Only the housing domain is used in these models. This takes 2001 census data relating to accommodation overcrowding and sharing, homelessness and lack of central heating and combines them into a single indicator.

Table 9.3a is a correlation matrix of (a) the predictor variables used in group 1 models, along with (b) the various outcome variables for these models. Table 9.3b explains the names of these outcome variables. As predicted in the theoretical discussion in Chapter 6, it is obvious that there were strong levels of correlation between many of the predictor variables. In some cases (e.g. PC\_ABC1, PC\_CAR and IMD2010IncDomScore), these were +/-0.80. With this in mind, it was clear that multicollinearity might be a factor when constructing regression models from these predictors. As noted in Chapter 2, given the number of potential combinations of predictor variables, and the potential presence of multicollinearity between these, ASV selection was employed as an initial, exploratory means of identifying the most effective combination. Constituent predictor variables of these initial models were evaluated to ensure that only those exhibiting statistically significant coefficients were retained. VIFs and associated tolerance scores were calculated for each model to test for the presence of multicollinearity (Field *et al*, 2013). Anovas comparing the  $R^2$  value of initial and modified models were then used to check the overall goodness of fit. For the purposes of methodological illustration, the process of shortlisting, evaluating and rejecting predictor variables is explained in detail in the first model. A briefer style of reporting is adopted from then on.

**Table 9.3a** Pearson correlation matrix for Model Group 1. Predictor variables shown in light blue, outcome variables shown in salmon pink.

Values for  $p$ : \*\*\*=0.001, \*\*=0.01, \*=0.05.

[illegible]

**Table 9.3b** Outcome variable names for Model Group 1

SRLQ_L	Average Service Reach Location Quotient for the LSOA
ERLQ	Ethnicity Ratio Location Quotient
TTY_P	Total Tuition Years Per Participant
AverageAgeAtTuitionEnd	Average age at the point when tuition ceased
TwoYrPlusPC	Percentage of pupils completing at least two years of tuition (two-year 'neuroplasticity' measure).
Yr7PlusPC	Percentage of pupils continuing tuition for at least one term beyond transferring to secondary school
AvTotInst	Average number of instruments on which tuition was received
PC_SouthAsian, PC_Irish, PC_Caribbean, PC_EndSp	Percentage of pupils undertaking tuition on key instrumental categories
GuitarLQ, FluteLQ, ViolinLQ	Instruments with spatial distributions exhibiting auto-correlation

### *Average Service Reach Location Quotient for the LSOA - SRLQ(L)*

The provisional model suggested by ASV selection is presented in Table 9.4

**Table 9.4** SRLQ(L) Initial model

	Estimate	Std'ised Est. (β)	Std. Error	t value	p
(Intercept)	1.37248		0.13809	9.94	$<1 \times 10^{-15}$
IMD2010IncDomScore	1.27185	0.282	0.62136	2.05	$<0.05$
CrimeAndDisorderScore	-0.12906	-0.157	0.05762	-2.24	$<0.05$
CYPSubDomScore	-0.01284	-0.383	0.00328	-3.91	$<0.001$
PC_DegHolders	0.02475	0.251	0.00680	3.64	$<0.001$
PC_NonWhiteBritish	-0.01760	-0.693	0.00247	-7.14	$<1 \times 10^{-11}$
Residual standard error for model: 0.304 on 115 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.628					
F statistic for model: 38.8 on 5 and 115 DF, p: $<1 \times 10^{-15}$					

The suggested model featured all statistically significant parameters.

However, a concern was the impact of `IMD2010IncDomScore` on the remaining parameters. As is evident in Table 9.3a, `IMD2010IncDomScore` correlates strongly, and in two cases very strongly, with the other variables included in the model. This was a potential warning of the presence of



multicollinearity (Field *et al*, 2013, Keser, 2010). VIF test revealed a statistic of 5.86 for `IMD2010IncDomScore` (Table 9.5). This raised the mean VIF for the model well above 1.0, recommended in the literature as an acceptable level of multicollinearity (Field *et al*, 2013). Additionally, the VIF tolerance for `IMD2010IncDomScore` fell under 0.2, identified as the threshold at which multicollinearity becomes problematic.

**Table 9.5** VIF test results for the initial SRLQ(L) model

Variable	VIF Statistic	VIF tolerance (1/VIF)
IMD2010IncDomScore	5.86	0.171
CrimeAndDisorderScore	1.52	0.657
CYPSubDomScore	2.96	0.338
PC_DegHolders	1.46	0.683
PC_NonWhiteBritish	2.91	0.344
Mean VIF for model	2.94	

For these reasons, `IMD2010IncDomScore` was removed and the mean VIF dropped to 1.39. However, the predictor `CrimeAndDisorderScore` was then found to no longer make a statistically significant contribution. Therefore, a further version of the model omitting `CrimeAndDisorderScore` was generated. As can be seen in table 9.6, all the remaining predictors contributed significantly to the model. The mean VIF of this version was 1.22, with no tolerance dropping under 0.2.

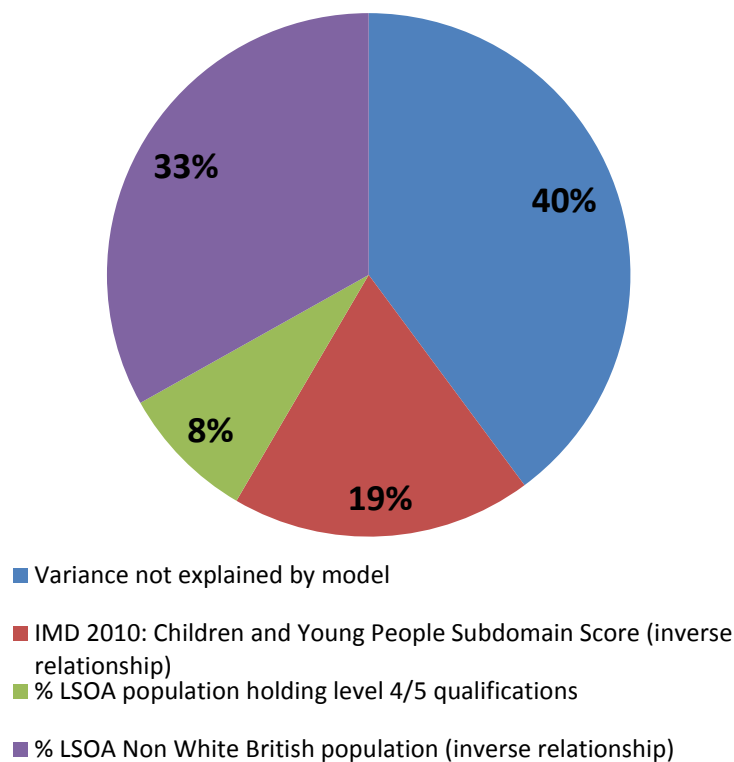
**Table 9.6** SRLQ(L) final model featuring three predictors

	Estimate	Standardised estimates ( $\beta$ )	Std. Error	t value	p
(Intercept)	1.44203		0.13715	10.51	$<1 \times 10^{-15}$
CYPSubDomScore	-0.01095	-0.326	0.00226	-4.85	$<1 \times 10^{-5}$
PC_DegHolders	0.02053	0.208	0.00646	3.18	$<0.01$
PC_NonWhiteBritish	-0.01377	-0.542	0.00153	-8.99	$<1 \times 10^{-14}$
Residual standard error for model: 0.312 on 117 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.601					
F statistic for model: 58.9 on 3 and 117 DF, p: $<1 \times 10^{-15}$					

It is acknowledged that the version of the model in Table 9.6 explains slightly less overall variance than the original version in Table 9.4. An anova confirmed the statistical significance of this difference ( $F=4.04$ ;  $DF=2$ ;  $p<0.05$ ). However, it was deemed preferable to be able to have confidence in

the independence of the constituent predictor variables and in the significance of their contributions to the model than to achieve the highest  $R^2$  possible by any means. Moreover, the correlation of `IMD2010IncDomScore` and `SRLQ` given in Table 9.3a results in  $R^2 = 0.68^2 = 0.462$  whereas the  $R^2$  of the model presented in Table 9.6 is higher at 0.601, thus the final version is still a far better fit overall.

Overall, then, the model in Table 9.6 is able to explain 60% of the variance in `SRLQ` scores. Put another way, this suggests that, in this particular case study, three contextual variables together account for 60% of the variance in levels of tuition take up across the authority. Figure 9.1 charts the decomposition of this figure using an LMG test. It can be seen that the largest single contribution (33%) comes from the percentage of non-White British inhabitants within an LSOA (`PC_NonWhiteBritish`). Increases in the non-white British LSOA population are associated with decreases in the number of local young people taking up instrumental tuition.



**Figure 9.1** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the final SRLQ(L) regression model in table 9.6.

`PC_NonWhiteBritish` is followed in relative importance by `CYPSubDomScore` (19%). This indicates that, as overall levels of local educational success diminish, the total take up of instrumental tuition in that area falls. In a similar way, as the percentage of the LSOA population holding qualifications at Level 4/5 rises, the total take-up of instrumental tuition also rises. `PC_DegHolders` makes a positive, albeit smaller (8%) contribution, indicating that areas inhabited by more graduates also tend to have greater levels of instrumental tuition take up.

This model tells quite a clear story: instrumental tuition is taken up more readily in case study areas populated by high numbers of white British people, whose children achieve better results in school examinations, exhibit lower levels of school absence and are more likely to stay on in post-compulsory education. Parents in these areas are more likely to be degree educated. That as much as 60% of variance in SRLQ(L) can be explained in

this way is perhaps surprising. Yet in fact, the amount of variance explained by these predictors could be higher still. Recalling the correlation coefficients between SRLQ(L) scores and the various predictors in Table 9.3a, it is clear to see that the majority of these also have statistically significant positive or negative relationships with SRLQ(L), even if a lack of independence between these meant that they could not be included within the model due to multicollinearity.

### *Ethnicity Ratio Location Quotient - ERLQ*

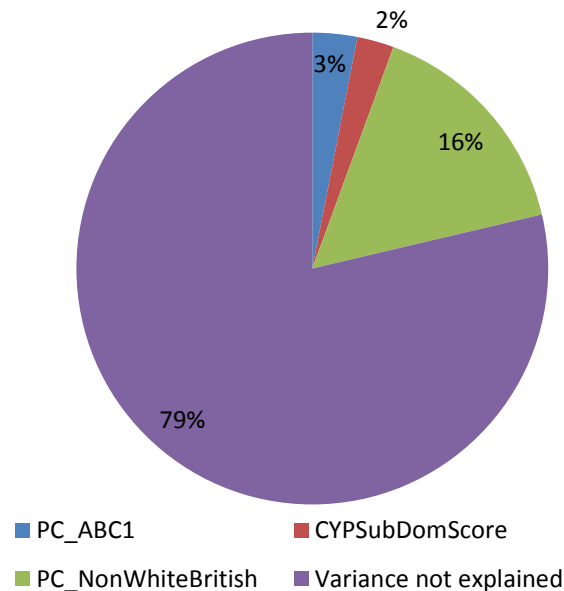
Table 9.7 provides the final ERLQ model. This model is able to explain over one fifth of the variance in ERLQ scores using three predictors.

**Table 9.7** ERLQ final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	-1.33308		0.55643	-2.4	<0.05
PC_ABC1	0.02729	0.448	0.00824	3.31	<0.01
CYPSubDomScore	0.01514	0.315	0.00563	2.69	<0.01
PC_NonWhiteBritish	0.01962	0.538	0.00366	5.37	<1x10 <sup>-7</sup>
Residual standard error for model: 0.629 on 117 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.213					
F statistic for model: 10.6 on 3 and 117 DF, p: <1x10 <sup>-5</sup>					

The mean VIF test result for this model was perhaps a little high at 2.08. However, no individual predictor variable's VIF tolerance fell below 0.2. Figure 9.2 decomposes the model's R<sup>2</sup> using the LMG methodology. Unsurprisingly perhaps, the biggest contributor by far is size of the BAME population in the LSOA. Assuming that PC\_ABC1 and CYPSubDomScore remain stationary, the model indicates that with each percentage point increase in the BAME population, ERLQ shifts 0.02 in the positive direction (recalling figure 8.9, the maximum ERLQ score was 5.33). As in the SRLQ(L) model, the 'Children and Young People Subdomain' score also made a significant (though lesser) contribution to the model. The inclusion of PC\_ABC1 in the model is noteworthy. Although it only makes a very small contribution, the inference is that slightly higher numbers of BAME young

people take up tuition in areas characterised as generally more 'middle class'.



**Figure 9.2** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the ERLQ regression model presented in table 9.7.

### *Total Tuition Years Per Participant*

The initial TTY(P) model suggested by ASV selection featured the predictors `IMD2010IncDomScore`, `CrimeAndDisorderScore`, `PC_NonWhiteBritish`. Of these, only the coefficient for `IMD2010IncDomScore` made a statistically significant contribution. Table 9.3a shows high levels of correlation between these three variables and a relatively high mean VIF level of 2.02 confirmed multicollinearity may have been a factor. Therefore, both `CrimeAndDisorderScore` and `PC_NonWhiteBritish` were removed, leaving `IMD2010IncDomScore` as the sole predictor. Table 9.8 shows that this univariate model was able to explain 22% of the variance in TTY(P). An anova confirmed that this was the same amount of variance as the initial model. Put simply, a coefficient of -0.9410 means that each point increase on the IMD2010 income deprivation scale is associated by a reduction in length of tuition per participant of almost one year.

**Table 9.8** TTY(P) final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	1.6719		0.0356	46.92	$<1 \times 10^{-15}$
IMD2010IncDomScore	-0.9410	-0.471	0.1614	-5.83	$<1 \times 10^{-7}$
Residual standard error for model: 0.191 on 119 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.222					
F statistic for model: 34 on 1 and 119 DF, $p: <1 \times 10^{-7}$					

The strongly negative correlation between IMD 2010 Income Domain score and the numbers of young people *taking up* instrumental tuition has already been explored in Chapter 8. Here, we see that this predictor was *also* able to explain one fifth of the variance in the length of time over which tuition was received. The implication is that income deprivation not only impacts on the number of young people who take up tuition in the first place, but also on how long this engagement can be sustained in the face of the associated, and perhaps indirect, unforeseen or otherwise hidden costs and other challenges (see Chapter 4).

#### *Average age at point when tuition ceased*

ASV selection identified an initial model consisting of five predictors: IMD2010IncDomScore, PC\_CAR, HousingScore, CYPSubDomScore and PC\_NonWhiteBritish. However, some of these made non-significant contributions to the model. Again, this was possibly due to multicollinearity, as the mean VIF was high at 3.95. In the end, a univariate model consisting solely of PC\_CAR was adopted (table 9.9). An anova confirmed that this univariate model was able to explain the same amount of variance as the initial, five-predictor model.

**Table 9.9** Final model for average age at tuition end

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	10.09430		0.22477	44.91	$<1 \times 10^{-15}$
PC_CAR	0.01652	0.453	0.00298	5.54	$<1 \times 10^{-6}$
Residual standard error for model: 0.425 on 119 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.205					
F statistic for model: 30.7 on 1 and 119 DF, $p: <1 \times 10^{-6}$					

Table 9.9 indicates that the percentage of households with access to a vehicle could explain 21% of the variance in average tuition cessation ages. The value of the intercept of this model indicates that if no household in an LSOA possessed a vehicle, learners would tend to cease tuition aged ten. However, as vehicle ownership increases by one percentage point, this is associated with an increased cessation age of 0.02 years. There are perhaps two ways to interpret this finding. Firstly, as table 9.3a makes clear, PC\_CAR is highly correlated with other pertinent proxy variables, including the percentage of 'middle class' residents (PC\_ABC1) and high levels of income deprivation (IMD2010IncDomScore). Thus PC\_CAR may, in reality, be masking the true influence of other, correlated predictors in complex ways. Secondly, the 'base' cessation age of between ten and eleven years may be significant in the sense that this is the age at which pupils approach their transition to secondary school. Chapter 8 has already noted that home-school distances were considerably greater for secondary pupils and thus perhaps access to vehicles became an even more important factor in sustaining instrumental tuition once pupils had left their primary schools. Those without such access may have tended to cease their lessons earlier as a result. These are matters that will be dealt with in more detail below.

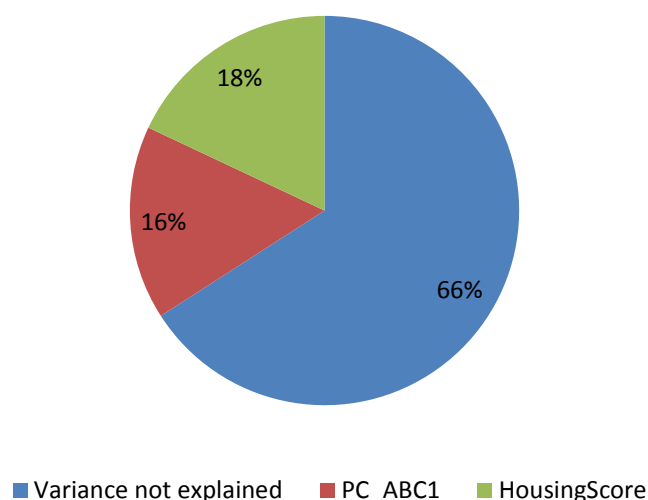
#### *Percentage of pupils completing two years of tuition*

The ASV routine identified an initial model for TYT comprising five variables (IMD2010IncDomScore, PC\_ABC1, CrimeAndDisorderScore, HousingScore and PC\_NonWhiteBritish). However, not all of the resulting coefficients made a statistically significant impact on the model and were, in any case, the cause of some high VIF scores. Subsequent versions of the model removed the problematic variables one by one, until only two

remained and multicollinearity was brought down to an acceptable level (mean VIF = 1.53). A confirmatory anova revealed no significant difference between the efficacy of this model and the initial five-variable solution. As can be seen in table 9.10, the final bivariate model was able to explain a third of the variance in TYT scores. Figure 9.3 decomposes this  $R^2$  value graphically.

**Table 9.10** TYT final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	10.2345		3.9005	2.62	<0.01
PC_ABC1	0.1895	0.305	0.0575	3.29	<0.01
HousingScore	-0.2211	-0.350	0.0585	-3.78	<0.01
Residual standard error for model: 5.84 on 118 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.341					
F statistic for model: 30.5 on 2 and 118 DF, p: $<1 \times 10^{-10}$					



**Figure 9.3** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the TYT regression model presented in table 9.10.

As noted, `HousingScore` represents the 'Housing Domain' from the 2009 Local Index of Child Well-Being. This combines 2001 census data relating to the impact of accommodation challenges on young people; data on overcrowding, sharing, homelessness and an absence of central heating are all factored in. Figure 9.3 indicates that 18% of the variance in the numbers of young people continuing for a minimum of two years of tuition can be



attributed to this predictor variable alone. Again, this may be interpreted in two ways. Taken broadly, it may suggest that those pupils whose parents are in a position to offer secure, stable and comfortable accommodation for their children are also those who are more likely to pursue their instrumental tuition for longer. This view is supported perhaps by the second contributing variable in the model (16% of variance) which is, once again, the percentage of individuals from technical, managerial and professional careers living locally. Taken more specifically, however, the presence of `HousingScore` may indicate that the everyday challenges associated with insecure, unstable or uncomfortable accommodation may take a toll on the resilience of young people to continue studying an instrument beyond an initial two years. In turn, this may add credence to the arguments reviewed in Chapter 4 relating to professionals' perceptions regarding the need for appropriate places to practise and store instruments.

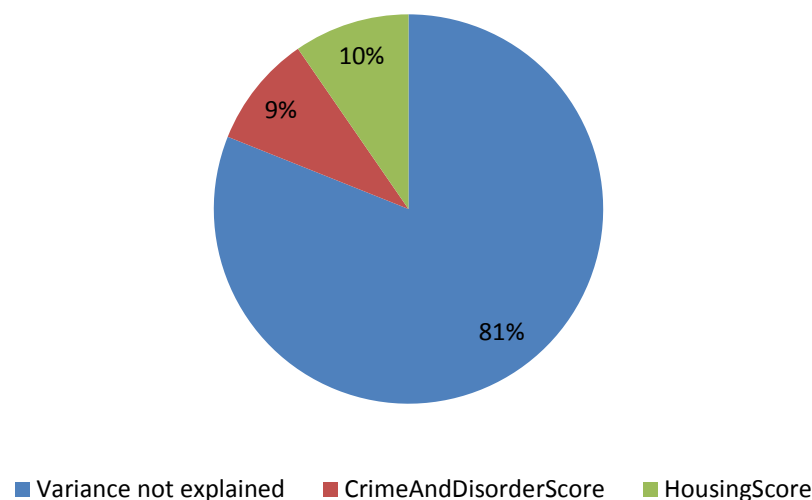
### *Primary-Secondary Transfer Measure*

The initial ASV-suggested model featured six variables as follows:

`IMD2010IncDomScore`, `PC_CAR`, `CrimeAndDisorderScore`, `HousingScore`, `CYPSubDomScore` and `PC_NonWhiteBritish`. Given the similarities between this model and the initial solution offered by the ASV routine for TYT, it is no surprise that similar issues regarding multicollinearity were encountered. After a number of highly correlating variables were removed, a two-variable solution was found which could explain 19% of variance in PST scores with acceptable levels of multicollinearity (mean VIF=1.24) (table 9.11).

**Table 9.11** PST final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	12.3990		1.0591	11.71	<1x10 <sup>-16</sup>
CrimeAndDisorderScore	-1.9668	-0.253	0.7151	-2.75	<0.01
HousingScore	-0.1063	-0.260	0.0377	-2.82	<0.01
Residual standard error for model: 4.19 on 118 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.19					
F statistic for model: 18.8 on 2 and 118 DF, p: <1x10 <sup>-6</sup>					



**Figure 9.4** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the PST regression model presented in table 9.11.

Figure 9.4 decomposes  $R^2$  for the PST model. As in table 9.10, `HousingScore` makes a significant negative contribution, explaining 10% of the variance in the number of pupils continuing tuition after transitioning to secondary school. Similar suggestions for the inclusion of this variable can be made as in the TYT model above. The arguments reviewed Chapter 2 (i.e. that instrumental learners who accomplish primary-secondary transition require particular reserves of personal resilience, combined with strong familial and financial support) still appear to apply. Moreover, the negative contribution of `CrimeAndDisorderScore`, representing the prevalence of violence, burglary, theft and criminal damage within an LSOA, adds further support to these views. It suggests that pupils need to feel safe in order to travel to and from school with instruments, perhaps late at night or early in the morning.

#### *Average number of Instruments on which tuition was received*

As was reported in table 9.3a, `AvTotInst` correlates at moderate levels with `PC_ABC1`, `PC_CAR`, `LSOANaptanCount`, `CrimeAndDisorderScore`, `HousingScore` and `CYPSubDomScore`. As noted, several of these variables

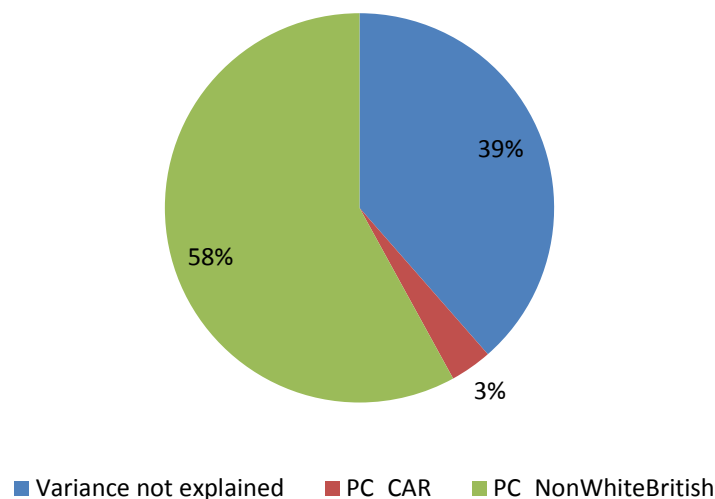
also correlate strongly with each other. Unfortunately, attempts to build a multivariate regression model for the average number of instruments studied using these predictors were hampered by the resulting high levels of multicollinearity. However, from table 9.3a we may conclude that positive correlations between the average number of instruments studied and higher levels of vehicle ownership and ABC1 professions support some of the conclusions drawn above. Negative correlations with levels of income deprivation, crime, poor housing and educational disadvantage compound this conclusion. The negative correlation with public transport access—represented by the variable `LSOANaptanCount`—is also in the expected direction since there tend to be fewer bus stops in particular in more suburban areas, where vehicle ownership is higher and housing less dense.

#### *Percentage of LSOA pupils undertaking tuition in key instrumental categories*

Of the models presented in tables 9.12 to 9.15, by far the most successful was the first, which sought to explain the variance in the numbers of pupils undertaking tuition on South Asian cultural instruments. Two predictor variables were together able to explain 62% of this variance. Figure 9.5 shows that the biggest contribution was made by `PC_NonWhiteBritish`. Alone, this predictor can explain well over half the variance. This is a little surprising, since figure 8.18 and the associated Syrjala test confirmed that the spatial distribution of south Asian instrumental learners *was distinct* from the spatial distribution of people from South Asian ethnic backgrounds. However, it is important to remember that these are slightly different tests. Whilst figure 8.18 illustrated the spatial distribution of *only* those from South Asian backgrounds, the figure used in Table 9.12 includes all those from BAME backgrounds. Thus, we may conclude that South Asian instrumental take-up is significantly more likely in areas which are ethnically more diverse *in general*, but not necessarily home to greater numbers of people from South Asian backgrounds *in particular*.

**Table 9.12** Percentage of LSOA pupils undertaking tuition on South Asian cultural instruments final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	-23.0957		4.9975	-4.62	<1x10 <sup>-5</sup>
PC_CAR	0.2225	0.251	0.0568	3.92	<0.001
PC_NonWhiteBritish	0.5196	0.864	0.0385	13.50	<1x10 <sup>-15</sup>
Residual standard error for model: 7.22 on 118 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.615					
F statistic for model: 94.1 on 2 and 118 DF, <i>p</i> : <1x10 <sup>-15</sup>					



**Figure 9.5** A decomposition of the R<sup>2</sup> value associated with the regression model presented in table 9.12.

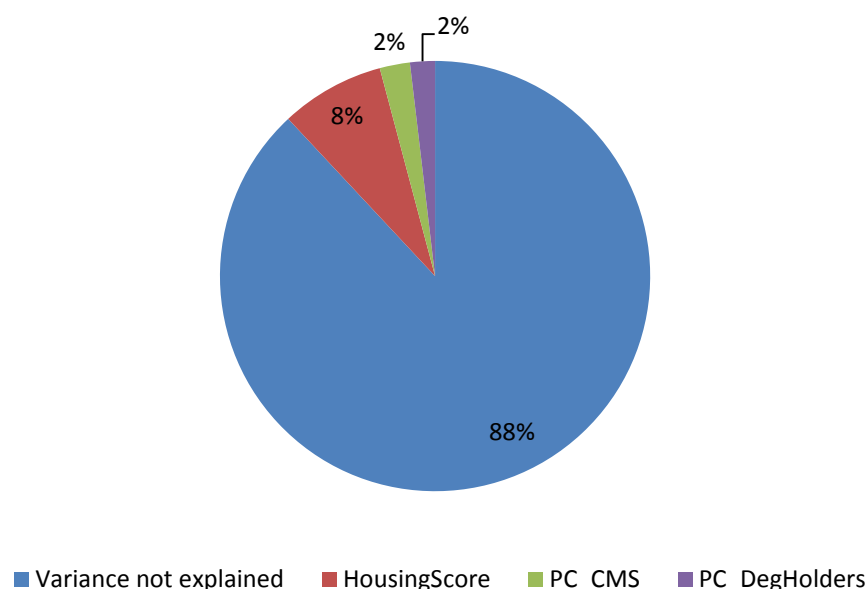
The much smaller contribution made by PC\_CAR can be attributed to two possible reasons. As we have seen, higher levels of car ownership are associated with greater concentrations of people from higher socio-economic groups and, conversely, lower levels of economic deprivation. Since these have both been shown to be key indicators of other aspects of instrumental tuition take-up, it is not surprising that higher levels of car ownership make a small contribution in this case. The second possibility is that car ownership was particularly important for some pupils studying South Asian instruments since one of these (sitar) was among the larger instruments in the case study data. Several others (santoor, harmonium and tabla<sup>86</sup>) were amongst the heavier instruments.

<sup>86</sup> Notwithstanding this point, the decision taken in the distance-weight models reported in group 2  
 Ross Purves  
 July 2017

The model for the take-up of Irish cultural instruments (Table 9.13) is able to account for considerably less variation (12%). As can be seen in figure 9.6, 8% of this total is due to `HousingScore`, potentially for the same reasons as noted in previous models. For reasons not immediately clear, smaller contributions are made by two further predictor variables related to the local prevalence of degree-level education and the number of people working in the fields of culture, media and sport.

**Table 9.13** Percentage of LSOA pupils undertaking tuition on Irish cultural instruments final model.

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	6.6415		1.3243	5.02	$<1 \times 10^{-5}$
HousingScore	-0.0924	-0.301	0.0270	-3.42	$<0.001$
PC_CMS	1.3512	0.237	0.6024	2.24	$<0.05$
PC_DegHolders	-0.1661	-0.237	0.0749	-2.22	$<0.05$
Residual standard error for model: 3.29 on 117 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.119					
<i>F statistic for model:</i> 5.29 on 3 and 117 DF, $p$ : $<0.001$					

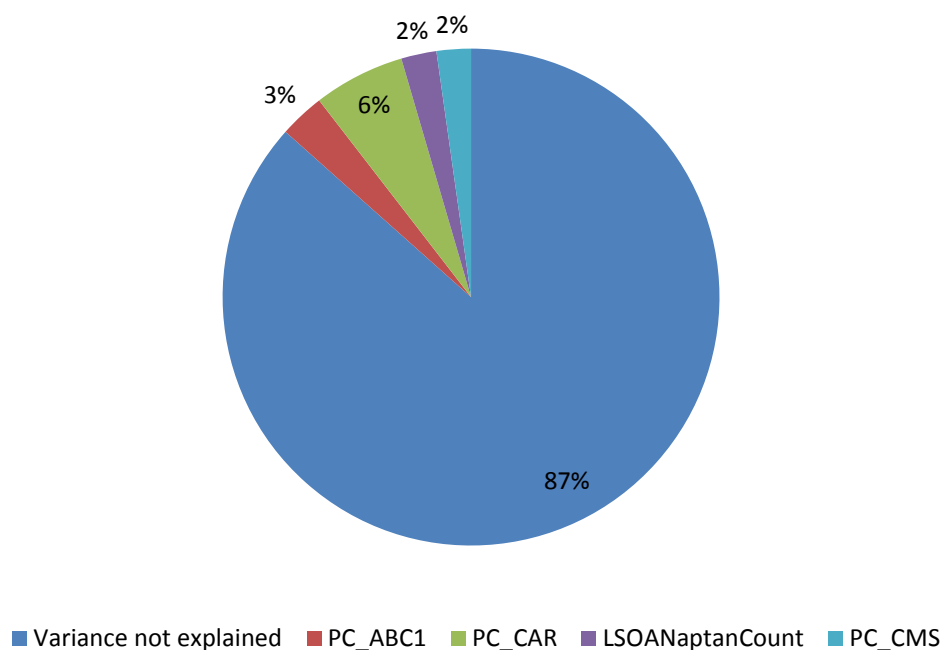


**Figure 9.6** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the regression model presented in table 9.13.

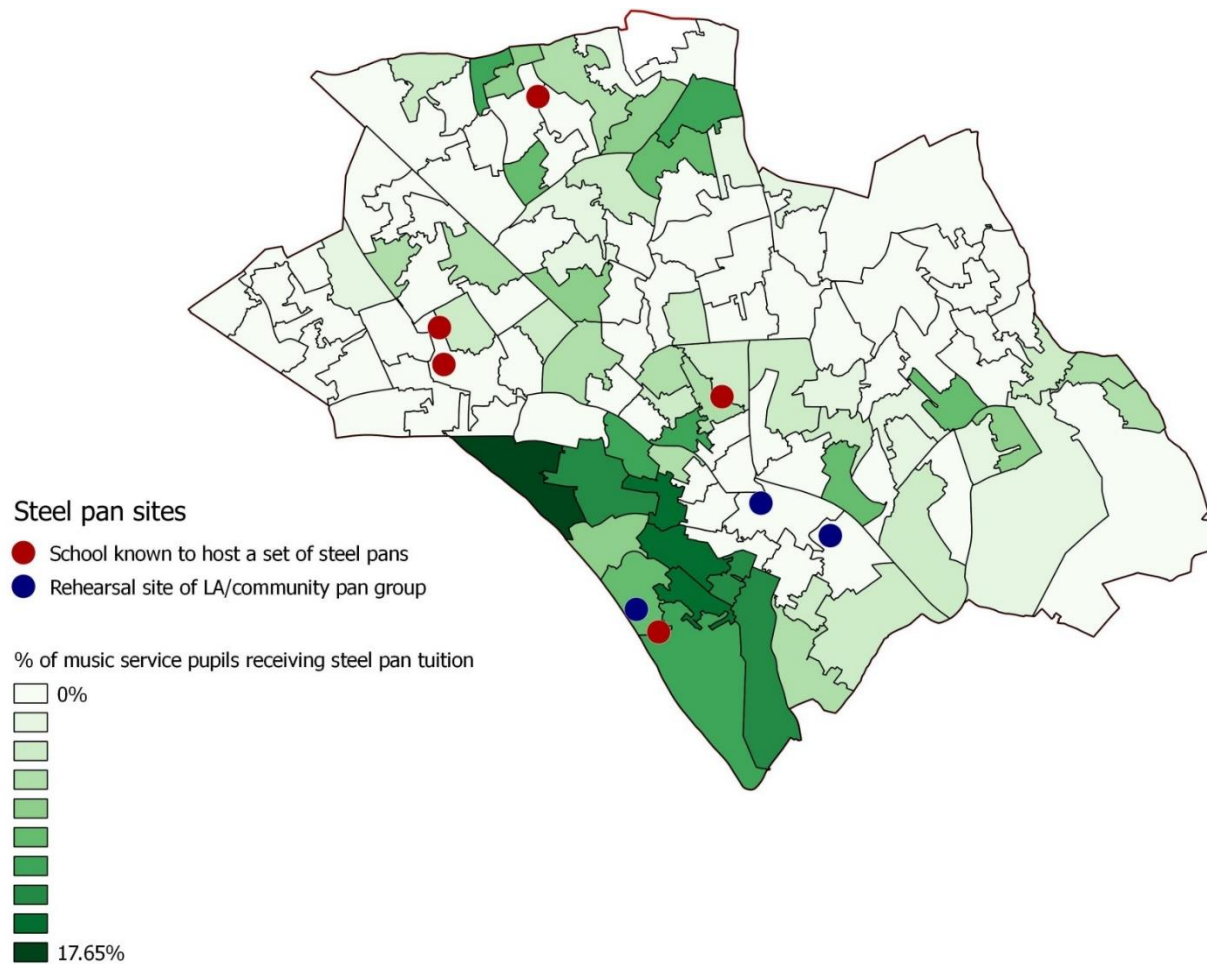
The final model for steel pan tuition (Table 9.14) was only able to explain just over 13% of the variation in take-up. Variables related to transport contributed over half of this value (figure 9.7). Higher levels of car ownership were found above to be associated with more affluent locations. Thus, the negative contribution of this variable could imply that those taking steel pan tuition might live in poorer areas. However, there is a further possible explanation. Steel pans are not typically kept in learners' homes but at dedicated tuition/rehearsal sites, generally as components of larger orchestras. Figure 9.8 plots the locations of schools, youth and arts centres known to have hosted sets of steel pans during the case study period. Green choropleth shading depicts the percentage of case study pupils taking up steel pan tuition in each LSOA. The spatial relationship between the locations of the pans and higher take-up is clear. This may explain the stronger negative correlation with household vehicle availability: learners tended to live in walking distance from their local orchestra and, in any case, were not likely to require transportation for their pans. This reasoning may also explain the (smaller) negative correlation with `LSOANaptanCount`: pupils did not require an extensive public transport network to get to pan lessons and rehearsals. On the other hand, the small cluster of steel pan learners on the eastern side of the authority seem to be geographically remote from the known pan sets. Overall, this remains a rather complex picture, and the small, opposing contributions made by `PC_ABC1` and `PC_CMS` add to this complexity.

**Table 9.14** Final model for take-up of steel pan tuition

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	12.3948		2.8802	4.30	<1x10 <sup>-4</sup>
PC_ABC1	0.1493	0.526	0.0462	3.23	<0.01
PC_CAR	-0.1767	-0.705	0.0445	-3.97	<0.001
LSOANaptanCount	-0.0327	-0.297	0.0137	-2.39	<0.05
PC_CMS	-1.2866	-0.240	0.5992	-2.15	<0.05
Residual standard error for model: 3.08 on 116 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.134					
F statistic for model: 4.5 on 4 and 116DF, p: <0.01					



**Figure 9.7** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the regression model presented in table 9.14.



**Figure 9.8** Known sites of steel pan activity in the case study local authority (data drawn from the researcher's anecdotal professional knowledge, local authority publications and newspaper reports). The percentage of pupils receiving steel pan tuition is indicated by green shading.

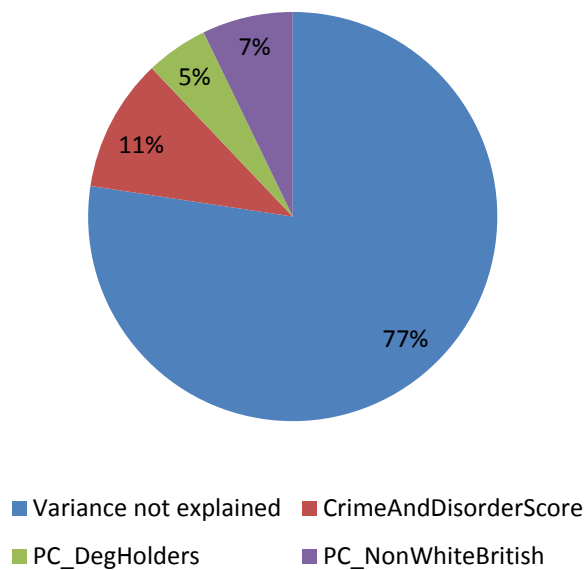


Table 9.15 gives the final model for uptake on Endangered Species instruments. Initial versions of this model suffered from considerable multicollinearity, resulting mainly from the inclusion of `IMD2010IncDomScore`. With this variable removed, mean VIF was reduced to 1.09, giving confidence in the remaining predictors' contributions.

This model is capable of explaining around 23% of variance and it seems clear that higher levels of take-up for Endangered Species tuition tended to occur in areas with lower levels of crime and disorder. A smaller, positive contribution was made by the percentage of local people holding degrees. Take-up of Endangered Species instruments is higher also in areas inhabited by more individuals from white British backgrounds. Yet given the relatively small  $R^2$  value and the initial issues with multicollinearity, the presence of the latter predictor should be regarded with caution. Chapter 8 has already suggested that take-up of Endangered Species instruments was higher amongst case study BAME pupils than in the national population.

**Table 9.15** Final model for take-up of Endangered Species tuition

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	7.3925		1.5353	4.81	$<1 \times 10^{-6}$
CrimeAndDisorderScore	-2.2235	-0.282	0.6849	-3.25	$<0.01$
PC_DegHolders	0.1641	0.173	0.0812	2.02	$<0.05$
PC_NonWhiteBritish	-0.0588	-0.240	0.0202	-2.91	$<0.01$
Residual standard error for model: 4.18 on 117degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.226					
<i>F statistic for model</i> 11.4 on 3 and 117 DF, $p$ : $<1 \times 10^{-6}$					



**Figure 9.9** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the regression model presented in table 9.15.

### *Instrument location quotient distributions exhibiting spatial autocorrelation*

ASV selection resulted in initial models for flute and violin ILQ scores featuring the following predictors:

- **Flute:** PC\_ABC1, CrimeAndDisorderScore, HousingScore, CYPSubDomScore, PC\_DegHolders
- **Violin:** PC\_ABC1, CrimeAndDisorderScore, HousingScore, PC\_CMS, PC\_DegHolders, PC\_NonWhiteBritish

However, both of these initial models exhibited considerable multicollinearity (flute mean VIF: 2.96; violin mean VIF: 3.85). Following further revisions, both became univariate models featuring a common predictor: *HousingScore*. As can be seen in table 9.16 and 9.17, these models were able to explain 10% and 8% of variance in the flute and violin ILQ scores respectively.

**Table 9.16** Flute ILQ final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	0.9694		0.0867	11.18	$<1 \times 10^{-16}$
HousingScore	-0.0102	-0.317	0.0028	-3.65	$<0.001$
Residual standard error for model: 0.346 on 119 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.101					
<i>F statistic for model:</i> 13.3 on 1 and 119 DF, $p$ : $<0.001$					

**Table 9.17** Violin ILQ final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	0.62176		0.08818	7.05	$<1 \times 10^{-10}$
HousingScore	0.00944	0.291	0.00284	3.32	$<0.01$
Residual standard error for model: 4.19 on 118 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.0847					
<i>F statistic for model:</i> 11 on 1 and 119 DF, $p$ : $<0.01$					

Importantly, however, these models differ in the polarity of the contribution made by `HousingScore`. In the case of flute (table 9.16), take-up increases as the prevalence of poor housing decreases. In the case of violin (table 9.17), however, the relationship between instrumental take-up and poor housing is reversed. If one accepts that `HousingScore` may, in this case, be a proxy for a broader concept of economic disadvantage (and a cursory glance at Table 9.3a suggests that this is the case, since `HousingScore` and `IMD2010IncDomScore` correlate at 0.70), then cost may have been a factor. The average March 2013 price of a flute sold by Amazon was £457, whereas the average price of a violin was £93<sup>87</sup>. In areas exhibiting higher levels of poor housing, expendable funds for an instrument may simply be unavailable. Then again, pupils in receipt of case study music service tuition would have had the potential to access free instrument loans in the vast majority of cases (see Chapter 7). A further possibility is that `HousingScore` is functioning as a proxy for `PC_NonWhiteBritish` (Table 9.3a reports a strong correlation between these variables). It is known that during the case study period, 40% of local Pakistani and Bangladeshi people lived in

<sup>87</sup> Prices from Amazon.co.uk, extracted 2nd March 2013 with permission.  
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unsuitable conditions, mainly due to overcrowding (Case study local authority, 2010). Table 9.18 shows that the violin was more popular amongst Bangladeshi and Pakistani learners in the case study authority than the flute.

**Table 9.18** Comparisons of take-up of flute and violin by Bangladeshi/Pakistani pupils as compared with pupils from all other ethnic backgrounds.

	Flute	Violin	Average for all instruments
Bangladeshi and Pakistani	4.79%	11.69%	9.01%
Other ethnic backgrounds	95.21%	88.31%	90.99%

Somewhat similar findings came from a 2011-12 study of young people's instrumental preferences in the East London borough of Newham (Welch *et al*, 2014). This revealed that 54% of those learning the violin were from Asian backgrounds, as opposed to 45% of those learning the flute. The reasons for these differences are not completely clear, though Harden (2006) reported that, in her experience of the American public education system, Muslim students often exhibited a preference for violin over flute due to a reported cultural perception that the former was more 'classical' and the latter was more 'popular'.

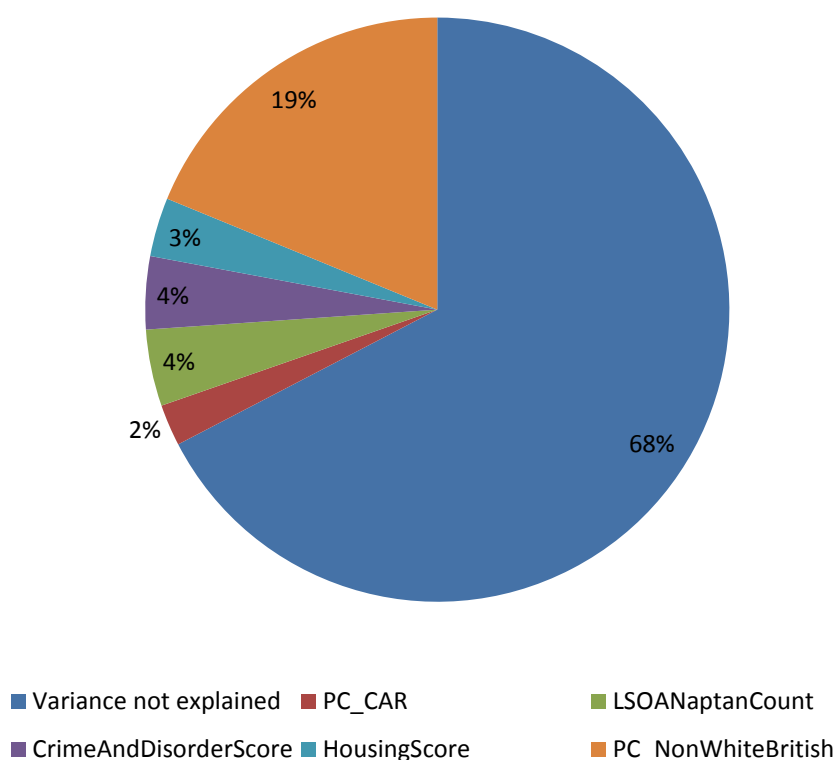
The ASV routine's solution for Guitar ILQ was noticeably different from those for flute and violin. Eight predictors were initially included:

IMD2010IncDomScore, PC\_ABC1, PC\_CAR, LSOANaptanCount, CrimeAndDisorderScore, HousingScore, CYPSubDomScore and PC\_NonWhiteBritish. However, with mean VIF at 4.24, further revisions were made until the version shown in table 9.19 was finally accepted. Uniquely in this group of models, the contribution of the intercept remained non-significant in this version, suggesting that this estimate may not be reliable in theoretically-possible, yet very rare situations where all other predictors were zero.

**Table 9.19** Guitar ILQ final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'dised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	-0.17913		0.41193	-0.43	0.6645
PC_CAR	0.00866	0.296	0.00391	2.21	<0.05
LSOANaptanCount	0.00288	0.224	0.00132	2.19	<0.05
CrimeAndDisorderScore	0.13690	0.214	0.06601	2.07	<0.05
HousingScore	0.01207	0.358	0.00447	2.70	<0.01
PC_NonWhiteBritish	-0.01211	-0.611	0.00228	-5.30	<0.01
Residual standard error for model: 0.319 on 115 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.326					
<i>F statistic for model:</i> 11.1 on 5 and 115 DF, $p$ : $<1 \times 10^{-9}$					

This model was able to account for one third of the variance in guitar ILQ scores, and the total  $R^2$  is broken down in figure 9.10.



**Figure 9.10** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the Guitar ILQ regression model presented in table 9.19.

It is apparent that guitar take-up was more pronounced in areas with larger white British populations and where there was higher prevalence of poor housing, crime and disorder. Car ownership made a small, positive contribution to the model, as did the number of local bus stops. In the case of the latter, this might be because guitar take-up was concentrated in more

urban areas served by more bus routes. This concentration is reflected in the spatial distribution illustrated in figure 8.24.

Overall, this model is quite distinct from many others in this group and may highlight some underlying factors relating to the young people who tended to choose to study the guitar in the case study authority. The finding of Hallam *et al* (2005) was that guitar take-up was highly gendered. Moreover, Filmer-Sankey *et al* (2005) concluded that, along with other instruments associated with Western rock music such as drums and electronic keyboards, it was particularly popular with young people from white backgrounds. This specific gender-ethnicity intersectionality is clearly evident within the case study data, where over one third of those pursuing guitar tuition were male and from white backgrounds (table 9.20).

**Table 9.20** Gender and ethnicity summary for case study pupils undertaking guitar tuition

	White	Non-white
Male	34.1%	23.75%
Female	26.44%	15.71%

Socio-economic status potentially represents a further dimension of this intersectionality. The fact that higher levels of crime and poor housing contributed positively to the model presented in table 9.19 tentatively suggests that the guitar was taken up in areas of greater socio-economic need. This brings to mind Cohen's ethnographic study of Liverpool's indie rock scene:

Rock is produced as male through the everyday activities that comprise the scene... Liverpool 'indie' rock bands usually comprise four or five musicians on drums, bass guitar, lead guitar and sometimes keyboards, most of whom are white, working class men in their 20s and 30s... The scene thus comprises predominantly male groups, cliques or networks engaged in activities shaped by social norms and conventions through which they establish and maintain relationships with other men (Cohen, 1997: 17-20).

*Summary of model group 1*

The various regression models in this group suggest that local socio-economic and environmental factors (as represented by appropriate proxy variables) impacted significantly on young people's ability to take up and sustain instrumental tuition in the case study authority. Of the various predictors that made statistically significant contributions to the models above, several were more prominent. Table 9.21 lists each of the variables employed along with the quadratic (RMS) mean standardised coefficient values. In terms of their magnitude, the top four were

PC\_NonWhiteBritish, IMD2010IncDomScore, PC\_ABC1 and PC\_CAR. (In fact the true contribution of these variables may be higher, since some models excluded these on the grounds of multicollinearity.)

<b>Table 9.21</b> Quadratic (RMS) mean standardised coefficients for each predictor used in group 1 models, ranked in size order.	
PC_NonWhiteBritish	0.59
IMD2010IncDomScore	0.47
PC_CAR	0.46
PC_ABC1	0.44
CYPSubDomScore	0.32
HousingScore	0.30
LSOANaptanCount	0.26
CrimeAndDisorderScore	0.25
PC_CMS	0.24
PC_DegHolders	0.21

These four variables in particular are able to tell us a great deal about young people's take-up and sustained engagement of instrumental tuition in the case study local authority. Taken together, they illustrate an emerging picture of successful access to music service tuition being more strongly associated with areas inhabited by more young people from white backgrounds and by adults working in 'middle class' roles. Access was privileged in areas with lower levels of local economic deprivation and higher levels of car ownership. The presence of a vehicle may be closely correlated with socio-economic status and levels of economic deprivation. On the other hand, this presence may represent a genuinely distinct factor related to pupils' need to transport their instruments. Drawing on findings from Chapter 4, one may even

conclude that it is functioning as a proxy for family commitment to a child's instrumental learning.

### Model Group 2: Home-School Distance and Instrument Physical Properties

Regression models in group 2 sought to explore the impacts of the following hidden barriers on the total length of time over which tuition was received.

- instrument size and weight; and
- distances between pupils' homes and teaching/rehearsing sites

Case study music service provision was delivered in schools. Drawing on findings from Chapter 4, these models were intended to test the assertions that pupils with longer distances to travel to school, or with heavier instruments to transport, might be discouraged by these factors and cease tuition earlier.

Table 9.24 lists the predictor variables used in these models. The basic unit of analysis is the individual participant, since particular combinations of instrument played and distance to school is unique. The duration of tuition is measured in days. This finer level of gradation reflects the individual level of the analysis.

**Table 9.22** Initial predictor variables shortlisted for inclusion in group 2 models. Five-number summaries of these variables follow in table 9.23.

Dataset/Measure	Variable name in models	Source
Walking distance between home and school postcodes, extracted from Google Maps Server	DistanceKm	Google Distance Matrix API Kolobikhin (2011); Google (2015)
Weights of instrument, Extracted from Amazon Product Information	MedianWeightKg	Amazon.co.uk, extracted 2 <sup>nd</sup> March 2013 (with permission)

Walking distances were taken from the *Google Maps API* (see Chapter 8).

Weight and size data for musical instruments was initially harder to find.

Whilst a small number of research studies listing such data were located (e.g. Dawson, 1997; Waddle and Loen, 2003), these typically listed speciality



instruments (e.g. historical examples) and did not include the weight or dimensions of ancillary objects such as cases and bows. Conveniently, however, it was discovered that Amazon product data included both weight and physical dimension data. Moreover, it sold examples of all of the musical instruments in the case study data. Data were extracted from Amazon.co.uk on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 2013 (with written permission) using a bespoke *Perl* program. In total, information on 1005 instruments was collated. The properties of each type of instrument were tabulated and the median weight and dimensions identified. Employing median values avoided the skewing influence of instruments with extreme, outlying properties (e.g. child versions and 'outfits' containing additional accessories, such as stands and amplifiers). The weights and dimensions included cases/bags. This was important, since instruments are always transported in their cases. In some cases, Amazon's weights included small accessories (such as tuners, cleaning materials and spare string sets). Again, this was useful since players would typically store and transport these accessories in their cases/bags. Instruments with conventional variations in sizes (i.e. saxophone, violin, viola, cello, and classical guitar) were averaged to produce one, 'typical' weight in the final list.

Case study data had to be prepared before use in these models. Firstly, tuition records for harmonium, tabla and double bass were excluded, since these would have typically been hosted permanently in school with little expectation that pupils would transport them from home lessons. Secondly, case study data was split into three groups reflecting individual pupils' school type. In order to be able to construct regression models where each pupil data could be associated with a single home-school distance, these needed to be treated separated. For the same reason, only participants who had attended a single primary and/or a single secondary school could be included in these analyses.

Each group of data became the output variable of a distinct model, as summarised in Table 9.23. The first model included records of tuition on instruments received *only* during primary school, i.e. where pupils ceased

tuition before transitioning to secondary school ('primary starters and finishers'). The second model included records of tuition where pupils had *begun* an instrument at primary school and *continued* tuition on this instrument during secondary school ('secondary continuers'). Only the period of tuition received since commencing secondary school could be included. The third model included records of tuition where pupils had *both commenced and ceased* tuition whilst at secondary school ('secondary starters and finishers').

**Table 9.23** The three versions of the distance-weight model. This table gives the number of pupil records included in each. Five-number summaries of the outcome variable and two predictors are also given.

Model	n	Summary of total tuition time (days)	Summary of Distance (Km)	Summary of median weight (Kg)
		TotalPriDays TotalSecDays	DistanceKm	MedianWeightKg
(a) Primary starters and finishers	2308	Min: 0 1st Qu: 247 Median: 371 3rd Qu: 650 Max: 1270	Min: 0.001 1st Qu: 0.7 Median: 1.2 3rd Qu: 2.1 Max: 18.0	Min: 0.04 1st Qu: 2.35 Median: 2.60 3rd Qu: 4.15 Max: 20.00
(b) Secondary continuers	452	(whilst at secondary school only) Min: 3.00 1st Qu: 319 Median: 511 3rd Qu: 1049 Max: 2516	Min: 0.001 1st Qu: 1.30 Median: 2.00 3rd Qu: 3.30 Max: 9.50	Min: 0.04 1st Qu: 2.35 Median: 2.60 3rd Qu: 4.00 Max: 20.00
(c) Secondary starters and finishers	661	Min: 20 1st Qu: 240 Median: 455 3rd Qu: 774 Max: 1786	Min: 0.001 1st Qu: 1.3 Median: 2.1 3rd Qu: 3.5 Max: 10.1	Min: 0.04 1st Qu: 2.60 Median: 3.52 3rd Qu: 3.52 Max: 20.00

Table 9.24a, 9.24b and 9.25c are correlation matrices for predictors and outcome variables for each of the three models.

**Table 9.24a,b,c** Correlation matrices for the three distance-weight models. The two predictor proxy variables are shown in light blue, whilst the outcome variable is shown in salmon pink. Values for p: \*\*\*=0.001, \*\*=0.01, \*=0.05.

(a) Primary starters and finishers

<b>MedianWeightKg</b>	-0.01	
<b>TotalPriDays</b>	0.03	-0.10***
	<b>DistanceKm</b>	<b>MedianWeightKg</b>

(b) Secondary continuers

<b>MedianWeightKg</b>	-0.02	
<b>TotalSecDays</b>	-0.10*	-0.05
	<b>DistanceKm</b>	<b>MedianWeightKg</b>

(c) Secondary starters and finishers

<b>MedianWeightKg</b>	-0.04	
<b>TotalSecDays</b>	0.02	-0.05
	<b>DistanceKm</b>	<b>MedianWeightKg</b>

### *Regression model for primary starters and finishers*

Table 9.25 sets out the initial regression model constructed for the 'primary starters and finishers' data.

**Table 9.25** Initial model for the 'primary starters and finishers' data

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'dised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	478.67		11.74	40.77	$<1 \times 10^{-15}$
MedianWeightKg	-9.39	-0.0950	2.05	-4.58	$<1 \times 10^{-5}$
DistanceKm	5.12	0.0278	3.81	1.34	0.18
Residual standard error: 269 on 2305 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ : 0.00987					
$F$ : 11.5 on 2 and 2380 DF, $p$ : $<1 \times 10^{-5}$					

Only **MedianWeightKg** made a statistically significant contribution, in line with the correlation in table 9.24a. A re-run of the model with **DistanceKm** removed produced a very slightly lower  $R^2$  value (Table 9.26). However, a confirmatory anova revealed no statistically significant difference between these models.

**Table 9.26** Final model for 'primary starters and finishers' data

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	487.04		9.95	48.9	$<1 \times 10^{-15}$
MedianWeightKg	-9.42	-0.0954	2.05	-4.6	$<1 \times 10^{-5}$
Residual standard error: 269 on 2306 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ : 0.0909					
F: 21.2 on 1 and 2306 DF, $p$ : $<1 \times 10^{-5}$					

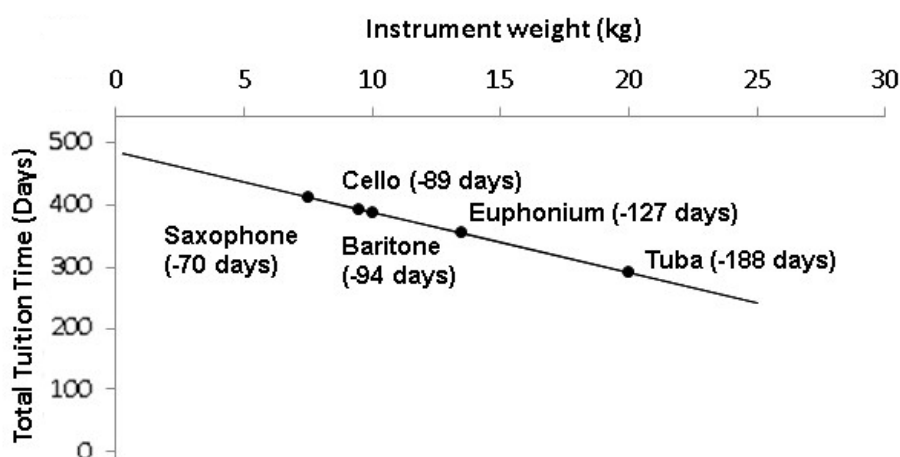
The  $R^2$  value in Table 9.26 suggests that instrument weight alone accounted for around 1% of variance in total tuition time for pupils beginning and ending their tuition at primary school. The coefficient estimate -9.42 implies that, as instrument weight increased by 1kg, length of tuition reduced by 9.42 days. Table 9.27 tabulates the impact on average total lengths of tuition for larger instruments. The lengths of time involved become quite large in some cases, and suggest that weight may indeed have resulted in a small, yet detectable 'hidden barrier' to case study provision on these instruments.

**Table 9.27** Weights for heavier instruments, along with estimates of the potential impact of these weights on the average total length of tuition, on the basis of the regression estimate given in Table 9.26.

<b>Instrument</b>	<b>Average weight of instrument</b>	<b>Potential impact of instrument weight on length of tuition in days (proportion of standard English school year<sup>88</sup>)</b>
Tuba	20kg	188.40 (0.99)
Euphonium	13.5kg	127.17 (0.67)
Baritone	10kg	94.20 (0.50)
Cello	9.5kg	89.49 (0.47)
Saxophone	7.5kg	70.65 (0.37)

Figure 9.11 plots these findings on a graph. In the case of a 20kg tuba, the average time spent receiving tuition drops by around 188 days, very nearly one standard school year. Even lighter instruments such as the saxophone and cello have a weight-related impact on tuition length of over one third of a standard school year.

<sup>88</sup> The standard minimum school year in England is 190 days, according to DfE (2013a)  
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**Figure 9.11** The regression line (annotated with key instrument regression points) for the model presented in Table 9.27.

### *Regression model for secondary continuers*

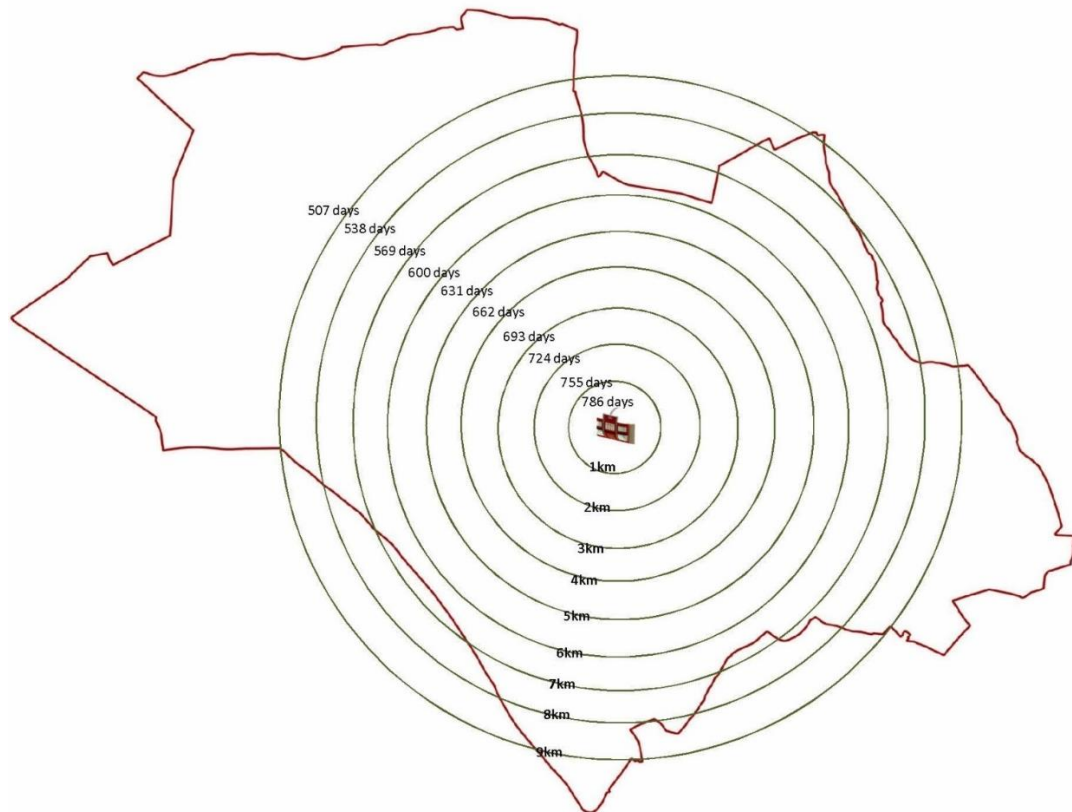
This model dealt with data for pupils who commenced tuition on an instrument in primary school and continued with this tuition into secondary school. The model could only take into account the length of time that they continued to have tuition once they had reached secondary school because it could only accommodate a single distance for each pupil. The model initially included both `MedianWeightKg` and `DistanceKm`, but this version was found to account for a statistically non-significant degree of variance. Removing `MedianWeightKg` produced better results, as set out in table 9.28.

**Table 9.28** Final model for the 'secondary continuers' data

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	786.2		44.7	17.61	<1x10 <sup>-15</sup>
DistanceKm	-30.6	-0.1	14.4	-2.13	<0.05
Residual standard error: 543 on 450 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ : 0.00999					
$F$ : 4.54 on 1 and 450 DF, $p$ : <0.05					

Table 9.28 implies that, as home-school distance increased by 1km, the total time spent in receipt of tuition on this instrument at secondary school drops by 30.6 days. As in the primary-only model, the  $R^2$  value was low, confirming that this model was able to explain just under 1% of variance in the tuition

length data. Nonetheless, the statistically significant (albeit small) relationship between distance and tuition is important (figure 9.12). Specifically, it may be that whilst home-school distances may not have been a critical factor for primary school pupils, once the secondary transition had taken place, the additional distances involved in reaching school may have begun to exert a greater influence on pupils' decisions to cease tuition.



**Figure 9.12** A geographical representation of the regression model for 'secondary continuers' presented in table 9.28. Each 1km increase in the distance between home and school is associated with a decrease in total tuition time of just under 31 days. By the time the distance reaches around 6km, this represents almost an entire school year.

### *Regression model for secondary starters and finishers*

It was not possible to obtain a satisfactory regression model for total tuition time using either home-school distance or instrument weight. It appears that for pupils who both commenced and ceased instrumental tuition whilst at secondary school, neither home-school distance or instrumental weight were related to the total amount of time over which tuition was received. As more mature adolescents, it may be that they and their parents started an

instrument with their eyes more fully open to the associated practical challenges and were prepared to overcome these.

### **Model Group 3: School factors**

This group of models employs a range of predictor variables intended to explore the potential influence of the following hidden barriers on various aspects of music service provision.

- school culture; and
- historical relationship between music service and school.

Considered under the heading 'school culture' was a range of factors including financial arrangements, academic performance, and levels of arts provision. The basic unit of analysis was the individual school, since the predictors used were all published at these levels. Table 9.29 summarises the predictor variables used in these models. In total, data for 37 primary and 10 secondary schools attended were compiled from the sources indicated, although in a very small minority of schools, data were not available for all variables.

**Table 9.29** Initial predictor proxy variables shortlisted for inclusion in the school factor models in Group 3.

Dataset/Measure	Pri/Sec indicator	Variable name in models	Time period of dataset	Source	Data summary
Arts specialism indicator					
A composite of:  ACE Artsmark Holders, Rounds 1-12	Pri/Sec	CompArtsFlag	2001-12	Artsmark.org.uk	0 (No Artsmark/Sp) =41
Arts Specialism, Specialist Schools List	Sec		As at October 2009	Department for Children, Schools and Families	1 (Artsmark/Sp)= 8
School financial data					
'E27: Bought in professional services – curriculum', School Level Expenditure data (Consistent Financial Reporting) 2009-10 (OSR06/2011)	Pri/Sec	E27PerPupil0910	2009-10	Department for Education  DCSF (2007d)	Min: £4.3 1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: £31.9 Median: £50.7 3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: £72.5 Max: £192.0
School performance table data					
A composite of:  Average point score, Primary school (KS2) achievement and attainment Tables 2007  Percentile ranking position in England (in ascending order)	Pri	PerfPercentilseleRank	Summer 2007	Department for Education	Min: 23.8 (rank=2.5)  1 <sup>st</sup> Qu: 26.1 (rank=14.3)  Median: 27.1 (rank=26.5)  3 <sup>rd</sup> Qu: 27.8 (rank=41.4)  Max: 30.4 (rank=92.8)  (Higher average point scores associated with higher ranks)
Percentage of pupils achieving 5 A*-C GCSE grades including Maths and English, Achievement and attainment tables Secondary School 2008  Percentile ranking position in England (in ascending order)	Sec		Summer 2008	Department for Education	Min: 36.0% (rank=35.6) 1st Qu: 42.0% (rank=44.1) Median: 44.5% (rank=47.5) 3rd Qu: 49.0% (rank=53.8) Max: 57.0% (rank=67.1)  (Higher percentages of pupils achieving 5 good GCSEs associated with higher ranks)
School religious character					
Underlying school-level data for Table 2b, SFR 09/2010: No. of schools by status and religious character	Pri/Sec	ReligiousChar	January 2010	Department for Education (2010)	0 (None) = 44 1 (CoE/RC) = 6
Pupils: Eligibility for FSM					
'% pupils eligible for FSM', School Level Expenditure data (Consistent Financial Reporting) 2009-10 (OSR06/2011)	Pri/Sec	PCEligibleFSM	2009-10	Department for Education	Min: 7.0% 1st Qu: 14.9% Median: 24.9% 3rd Qu: 30.1% Max: 48.9%  (Higher percentages associated with greater levels of eligibility for FSM.)



Pupils: Mode of Transport to School					
% of pupils who walk to school, as at January 2011, School level mode of travel 2011, Schools, Pupils and their Characteristics, January 2011 (SFR12/2011)	Pri/Sec	PCWalk	January 2011	Department for Education	Min: 17.4% 1st Qu: 54.2% Median: 66.1% 3rd Qu: 80.2% Max: 93.5%  (Higher percentages associated with greater numbers of pupils walking to school.)
Pupils: Number on Roll					
Base Information, Primary/Secondary achievement and attainment tables 2007	Pri/Sec	NOR_190107	January 2007	Department for Education	Min: 189 1st Qu: 316 Median: 396 3rd Qu: 656 Max: 1446
Pupils: Ethnic Background					
Underlying school-level data for Table 4, SFR 09/2010: Number and Percentage of pupils by ethnic group	Pri/Sec	PC_NonWhiteBritish Pupils	January 2010	Department for Education (2010)	Min: 26.9% 1st Qu: 47.9% Median: 58.3% 3rd Qu: 77.3% Max: 100%
		PC_IrishPupils			Min: 0% 1st Qu: 0% Median: 0.2% 3rd Qu: 1.1% Max: 9%
		PC_SouthAsianPupils			Min: 4.4% 1st Qu: 17% Median: 30.9% 3rd Qu: 45.5% Max: 90%
		PC_CaribbeanPupils			Min: 0% 1st Qu: 5.6% Median: 7.9% 3rd Qu: 11.5% Max: 24.4%

### About the Group 3 predictor variables

As in model group 1, some of the variables used as predictors require further explanation.

The binary variable `CompArtsFlag` was created to give an indication of a school's publicly-acknowledged policy on arts education. Artsmark is an accreditation scheme for schools, overseen by ACE (Flemming, 2009). Its purpose is to recognise schools committed to providing pupils with a wide range of arts experiences within the fields of dance, drama, music and art and design. During the case study period, three accreditation levels were available (Artsmark, Silver and Gold). For the purpose of these regression models, any school granted an Artsmark accreditation was coded with a value of 1 using the binary variable `CompArtsFlag`. Those with no Artsmark accreditation were coded 0. Within the case study authority, a total of eight

primary and secondary schools achieved one of the Artsmark levels during this period. 'Specialist Arts Status' offered a second form of formal arts accreditation for secondary schools. Specialist Schools were introduced in 1994 in order to encourage all secondary schools to develop particular subject strengths and improve standards (Ofsted, 2009). Schools receiving specialist status had to attract private sector sponsors and also become a resource for other schools in the local community. By 2009, there were over three thousand schools specialising in one or more of ten subject areas, including arts and music. All but two of the high schools within the case study borough had specialist status during the case study period, with one school holding specialist arts status. This school was also coded as 1 within `CompArtsFlag`.

Schools report their levels of income and expenditure to central government via annual 'Consistent Financial Reporting' returns (DCSF, 2007d). Within this system, the cost code 'E27: Bought in professional services – curriculum' is used to report a range of external staffing expenditure, including payments to both self-employed and local authority-employed instrumental teachers. These data have been included as a predictor variable since it was hypothesised that they may act as a proxy for general spending on provision for extra-curricular arts activities. However, there are important caveats. Firstly, since music service tuition was arranged between the pupil and the case study music service, it was not necessarily the case that higher levels of spending under E27 implied greater levels of tuition within a school. Secondly, the earliest school-level E27 data available covered 2009-10. This was obviously quite late in terms of the case study period. Thirdly, the E27 cost code is also used to log spending on non-music-related staffing, for instance, IT consultants, visiting speakers and exam invigilators. As a result of these limitations, this variable has only been included for experimental purposes and caution was exercised interpreting its presence in models.

School performance data was included using sources appropriate to educational phase. For the primary schools, the 'Average Points Score' (APS) for the 'End of KS2' tests in 2007 was used. Secondary school

performance data has been included in the form of the percentage of pupils achieving Five GCSE A\*-C grades in subjects including English and Maths in 2008<sup>89</sup>. In order to facilitate one composite set of models, applicable to both primary and secondary schools, both of these raw values were converted to percentile rankings by comparing each school's performance against all others in England.

Information on the mode of travel used by pupils to reach school is sought from schools during the annual school census. However, school level data was only available for 2010-11 (SFR12/2011). Data from this year was therefore employed, despite it falling slightly outside the case study period.

Information on pupils' ethnic background was included in part because of the importance of ethnicity observed in group 1 models. This data came from January 2010, the first year that school-level pupil ethnicity data were made available. This point did fall within the case study period, albeit close to the end. Several figures were derived from this dataset, including the overall percentage of pupils from BAME backgrounds, along with specific percentages of the number of pupils from Asian (embracing Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, dual and other Asian heritage), Irish (including Irish Traveller) backgrounds, and Caribbean (including dual heritage) backgrounds. The latter three sets were used in models relating to the take-up of instruments culturally associated with these groups (see Chapter 8). Data was also included on the formal religious character of each school, if any. As can be seen in Table 9.29, there were only two possible values: 'none' or 'CoE/RC'. `ReligiousChar` recorded this in a binary variable. A correlation matrix for the various non-binary predictor variables is given in table 9.30.

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<sup>89</sup> Whilst the summer of 2007 was the true chronological mid-point within the case study period, data from that year was not used since it did not include two secondary schools converting to academy status at that time.

**Table 9.30** Group 3 predictor variables correlation matrix. Predictor variables are shown in light blue and outcome variables in light pink. The two binary variables (`CompArtsFlag` and `ReligiousChar`) are not included. Values for  $p$ : \*\*\*=0.001, \*\*=0.01, \*=0.05<sup>90</sup>.

[illegible]

<sup>90</sup> Table 9.29 reveals statistically significant medium-large correlations between `PerfPercentileRank` and `PCEligibleFSM`. A characteristic of several of the group 3 models is that these two variables 'vie' with each during ASV selection. This caused some problems in the construction of some models and, in most cases below, it has been necessary to include only one of this pair. Selection was on the basis of which contributed the largest standardised coefficient to the model.

**Table 9.31** Group 3 models: outcome variable names

TTY_S	Total tuition years per school pupil
MSPupilsAsPCOfRollAsAt190107	Number of pupils in receipt of music service tuition as percentage of school roll, as at 19 <sup>th</sup> January 2007 <sup>91</sup> .
AverageAgeAtTuitionEnd	Average age of pupils at the point when tuition ceased
TwoYrPlusPC	Percentage of school pupils completing at least two years of tuition (two-year 'neuroplasticity' measure).
AvTotInst	Average number of instruments on which tuition was received
PC_SouthAsian, PC_Irish, PC_Caribbean, PC_EndSp	Percentage of school pupils undertaking tuition on key instrumental categories
PC_Guitar, PC_Flute, PC_Violin	Percentage of school pupils undertaking tuition on instruments with autocorrelated spatial distributions

*Total numbers of pupils, average tuition duration per school and the percentage of pupils completing two years of tuition*

This group of models is presented together, since the final versions shared common predictor variables. In each case, a combination of

`PerfPercentileRank` and `PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils` was able to explain over one-third of the variance in values for:

- the total number of music service pupils as a percentage of the school roll (as at 19<sup>th</sup> Jan 2007) (table 9.32 and figure 9.34);
- the average length of tuition time per school pupil (table 9.33 and figure 9.14); and
- the total percentage of school pupils who completed two years of tuition (table 9.34 and figure 9.15).

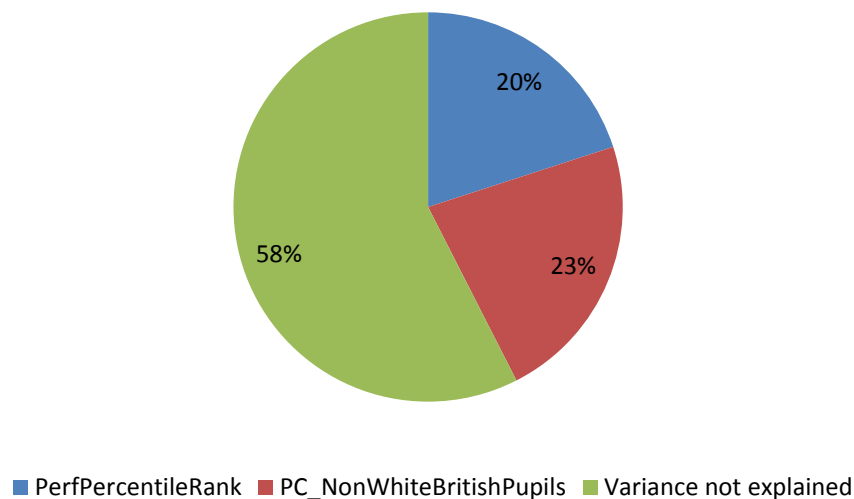
In each case, `PCEligibleFSM` was suggested by the ASV selection routine, but rejected due to multicollinearity concerns (table 9.30 confirms that `PerfPercentileRank` and `PCEligibleFSM` correlated highly). A further common factor in these models is that `PerfPercentileRank` makes a

<sup>91</sup> The date 19th Jan 2007 was chosen as this was the school census date closest to the chronological midpoint of the case study period.

positive contribution whilst `PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils` makes a negative contribution.

**Table 9.32** Pupils in receipt of case music service tuition as percentage of school roll (as at 19<sup>th</sup> January 2007) - final model

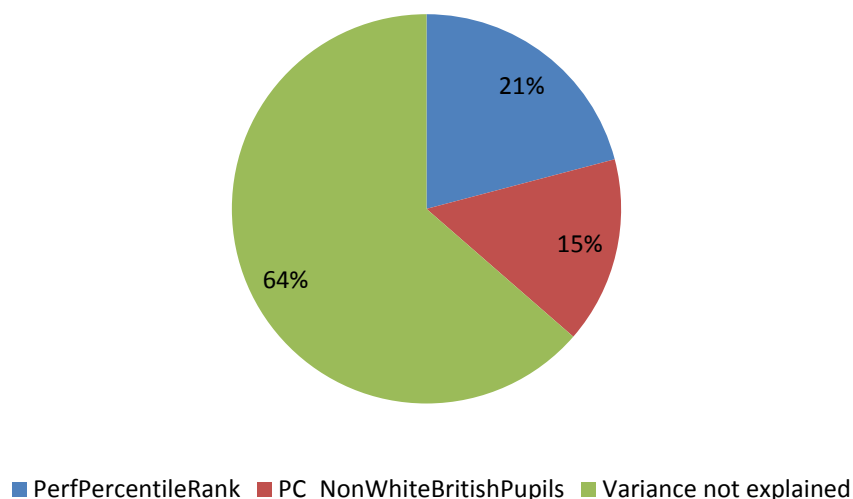
	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	13.0508		2.9022	4.50	$<1 \times 10^{-4}$
PerfPercentileRank	0.1214	0.359	0.0359	3.38	$<0.01$
PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils	-0.1263	-0.428	0.0345	-3.66	$<0.001$
Residual standard error for model: 5.04 on 45 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.425					
<i>F statistic for model:</i> 16.6 on 2 and 45 DF, $p$ : $<1 \times 10^{-5}$					



**Figure 9.13** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with regression model for case music service pupils as % of school roll, as at 19<sup>th</sup> Jan 2007, as presented in table 9.32.

**Table 9.33** Average length of tuition per pupil (`TTY(S)`) - final model

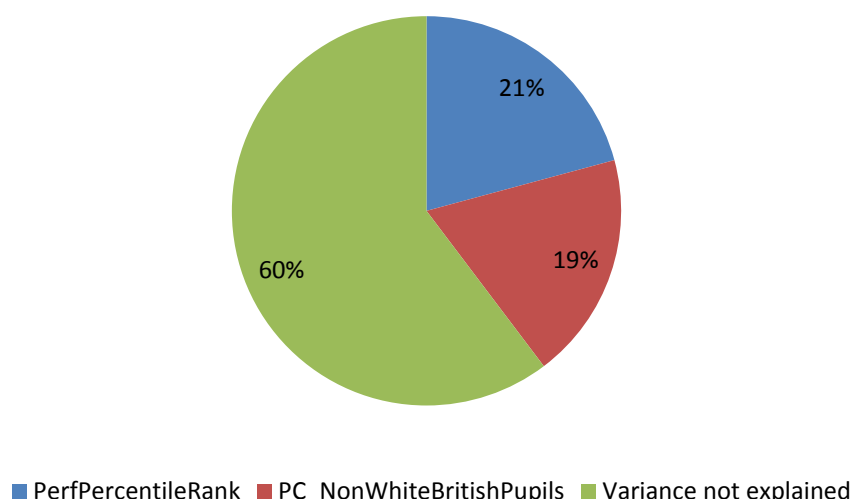
	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	1.74462		0.13810	12.63	$<1 \times 10^{-15}$
PerfPercentileRank	0.00581	0.418	0.00171	3.40	$<0.01$
PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils	-0.00458	-0.343	0.00164	-2.79	$<0.01$
Residual standard error for model: 0.24 on 45 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.364					
<i>F statistic for model:</i> 12.9 on 2 and 45 DF, $p$ : $<1 \times 10^{-5}$					



**Figure 9.14** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the average length of tuition per pupil model presented in table 9.33.

**Table 9.34** Percentage of pupils completing two years of tuition (TYT) - final model

	<i>Esti- mate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	47.1545		6.2690	7.52	$<1 \times 10^{-9}$
PerfPercentileRank	0.2666	0.411	0.0775	3.44	$<0.01$
PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils	-0.2402	-0.386	0.0745	-3.22	$<0.01$
Residual standard error for model: 10.9 on 45 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.398					
<i>F statistic for model:</i> 14.8 on 2 and 45 DF, $p$ : $<1 \times 10^{-5}$					



**Figure 9.15** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the TYT percentage regression model presented in table 9.34.

That so much of the variance in three key indicators can be attributed to just two predictors is important. There was a close relationship between the models in Tables 9.32, 9.33 and 9.34. Table 9.6 was concerned with modelling the relative number of young people within an LSOA who were accessing music service tuition (SRLQ(L)). Table 9.32 offers a similar model of tuition take-up, although this time from the perspective of schools attended, rather than areas inhabited. Common to both of these models is the prominence of predictors linked to academic performance and to the balance between White and BAME populations. Specifically, tuition was higher in local areas and schools associated with higher levels of academic performance and a lower BAME population.

At first glance, there are some differences between the model of average tuition length *per pupil* presented in Table 9.33 and the equivalent *per area* model presented in table 9.8. In Table 9.8, average tuition duration was found to be most strongly related to levels of income deprivation, rather than academic performance and ethnic profile as here. However, close inspection of Table 9.3a reveals large correlations between `IMD2010IncDomScore` and both `CYPSubDomScore` (related to local levels of educational achievement and duration) and `PC_NonWhiteBritish`.



A similar observation can be made when comparing the school-level model of TYT in Table 9.34 with the area-level model in table 9.10. Table 9.10 featured `HousingScore` and `PC_ABC1` as predictor variables, both of which correlated significantly with `PC_NonWhiteBritish` and `CYPSubDomScore`.

Taken together, these three models support an emerging picture of young people's engagement with instrumental tuition in the case study authority being most strongly related to a small handful of interrelated socio-economic predictors embracing income deprivation, school performance, ethnic background and housing quality.

#### *Average numbers of instruments studied*

The attempt in group 1 to model the average number of instruments studied by young people in different areas of the case study authority was confounded by multicollinearity. It was only possible to note that increases in the numbers of instruments studied appeared to be associated with various measures of socio-economic advantage. Obtaining an equivalent model for pupils by school was more straightforward. One predictor in particular stood out as able to explain over a quarter of the variance.

**Table 9.35** Average number of instruments studied by school - final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	1.041868		0.015384	67.72	<1x10 <sup>-16</sup>
PerfPercentileRank	0.001488	0.51	0.000366	4.07	<0.01
Residual standard error for model: 0.0534 on 47 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.26					
F statistic for model: 16.5 on 1 and 47 DF, p: <1x0.001					

As can be seen in Table 9.35, each percentile increase in school performance data results in an increase in the number of instruments played by its pupils (albeit on a small scale, reflecting the range of values involved). Table 9.30 confirmed a strong negative correlation between percentile ranking in the school performance league tables and eligibility for FSM, an oft-used proxy socio-economic disadvantage. Collectively, then, we may conclude that LSOAs and schools associated with lower levels of socio-

economic need attracted greater levels of case study music service provision as a whole. Moreover, young people associated with these less socio-economically deprived schools and areas tended to be those more likely to receive tuition on multiple instruments.

*Percentage of school pupils undertaking tuition in key instrumental categories*

This group of models initially featured a wide variety of predictor variables. Table 9.36 gives the final, univariate model for the percentage of music service pupils in each school learning South Asian cultural instruments (embracing dhol, harmonium, santoor, sitar, tabla and Asian voice).

**Table 9.36** Percentage of music service pupils in each school learning South Asian cultural instruments - final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Standardised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	-17.316		6.498	-2.66	<0.05
PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils	0.476	0.586	0.097	4.91	<1x10 <sup>-5</sup>
Residual standard error for model: 14.6 on 46 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.344					
F statistic for model: 24.1 on 1 and 46 DF, p: <<1x10 <sup>-5</sup>					

It is notable that `PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils` and not `PC_SouthAsianPupils` was found to be the more efficacious predictor of the numbers learning South Asian instruments. The premise that South Asian instruments may appeal to pupils from other minority ethnic backgrounds adds credence to the observations made in relation to figure 8.18, i.e. that the spatial distribution of South Asian instrumentalists differed from the South Asian population of the local authority as a whole.

**Irish instruments**

Figure 8.17 implied that the spatial distribution of young people learning Irish cultural instruments was statistically indistinguishable from the spatial distribution of the authority's Irish population. Table 9.37 suggests a similarly explicit relationship between the number of pupils from Irish backgrounds in a school and the number of pupils studying Irish cultural instruments.

**Table 9.37** Percentage of music service pupils in each school learning Irish cultural instruments - final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Standardised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	-2.708		1.022	-2.65	<0.05
PC_IrishPupils	3.042	0.76	0.384	7.92	<1x10 <sup>-10</sup>
Residual standard error for model: 5.48 on 46 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.577					
F statistic for model: 62.8 on 1 and 46 DF, <i>p</i> : <1x10 <sup>-10</sup>					

This univariate model was able to explain 58% of variance in the take up of these instruments alone. As can be seen in Table 9.30, however, PC\_IrishPupils correlates negatively and strongly with PCWalk (-0.52). It will be recalled from Chapter 8 that pupils attending case study schools with a religious ethos often travelled further. A bivariate version of this model with PCWalk included alongside PC\_IrishPupils *did* achieve a significantly higher R<sup>2</sup> value of 0.636 ( $F=7.27$  on 45 and 46 degrees of freedom;  $p<0.01$ ) but this was not acceptable since the correlation between these two variables led to a VIF score of 1.38 and a non-significant intercept. Similarly, a model including the binary variable ReligiousChar *alongside* PC\_IrishPupils was able to explain 66% of the variance had similar problems with multicollinearity (mean VIF=2). Nonetheless, it is clear that Table 9.37 supports the finding from figure 8.17, i.e. that school pupils from Irish backgrounds were the group most likely to engage with Irish instruments.

### Steel pans

Achieving a satisfactory model for steel pan take up was difficult and many initial models were rejected due to the presence of non-significant predictors. The final model is shown in Table 9.38.

**Table 9.38** Percentage of music service pupils in each school learning steel pans - final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Standardised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	7.09		1.74	4.08	<0.001
CompArtsFlag (=none)	-6.00	-0.411	1.92	-3.13	<0.01
Residual standard error for model: 5.21 on 48 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.169					
F statistic for model: 9.77 on 1 and 48 DF, p: <0.01					

The most notable aspect of this model is that the predictor found to be able to accurately account for the most variance ( $R^2=0.169$ ) was neither `PC_CaribbeanPupils`, nor `PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils`, but `CompArtsFlag`. This builds on observations made with regard to figure 8.19, i.e. that the spatial distribution of steel pan learners was significantly different from the spatial distribution of the local African-Caribbean population. Table 9.38 implies that Steel Pan take-up is strongly linked to schools' decisions to formally prioritise arts provision. In turn, this points to the importance of a whole-school ethos for steel pan tuition, since a fully-equipped orchestra of steel pans represents an enormous commitment both in terms of financial outlay and square footage of space. A high level of participation in extra-curricular ensembles is a requirement of both Artsmark and Arts College status. Steel pan orchestras have the advantage that many pupils can play together, thus emphasising access to music-making. Figure 9.8 already implied that individual schools' decisions to host pan orchestras can lead to distinct geographical 'pockets' of learners clustered nearby.

### Endangered Species

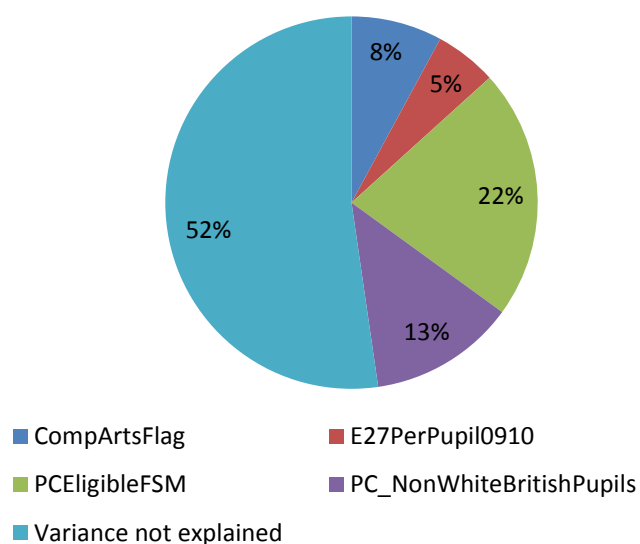
The model for Endangered Species instruments take-up (Table 9.39) featured a wider range of predictor variables. It was able to explain approximately half of the variance in take-up scores. Figure 9.16 breaks down the total  $R^2$  by the contribution of each predictor. The negative contributions from `PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils` and `PCEligibleFSM` were the largest, suggesting that Endangered Species instrumentalists in the case study authority were more likely to attend schools whose pupils were less ethnically diverse and less economically deprived. As was the case with Steel Pan take-up, a school's decision to prioritise arts provision through

Artsmark or Arts College status was also associated with higher levels of Endangered Species take-up.

**Table 9.39** Percentage of pupils in each school learning Endangered Species instruments - final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'ised estimates (β)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	21.0043		2.558	8.21	<1x10 <sup>-10</sup>
CompArtsFlag(=none)	-3.7231	-0.279	1.5589	-2.39	<0.05
E27PerPupil0910	-0.0344	-0.273	0.0154	-2.24	<0.05
PCEligibleFSM	-0.1952	-0.393	0.0625	-3.12	<0.01
PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils	-0.0709	-0.297	0.0312	-2.27	<0.05
Residual standard error for model: 4.06 on 41 degrees of freedom					
R <sup>2</sup> for model: 0.477					
F statistic for model: 9.35 on 2 and 41 DF, p: <1x10 <sup>-5</sup>					

Free demonstration or taster concerts were an important recruitment strategy during the Endangered Species programme (see Chapter 8). It is possible that schools with either Artsmark or Arts College status were more likely to take advantage of these events because (a) they represented a low-cost opportunity for pupils to engage with practical music-making, and/or (b) they were useful to report when ACE or Ofsted audited their provision. The negative contribution of `E27PerPupil0910` might be explained by the fact that schools which had already earmarked larger internal resources for the arts may not have needed to buy in external support; they may have the necessary expertise and facilities in-house. A further consideration is the model's combination of a negative contribution for FSM eligibility and a positive contribution for Artsmark/Arts College status. It seems that schools which served less deprived families were more likely to seek Artsmark or Arts College status. Perhaps one outcome of this was an encouragement of pupils to engage with the Endangered Species scheme.



**Figure 9.16** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the Endangered Species Instrument take-up percentage regression model presented in table 9.39.

*Percentage of pupils undertaking tuition on instruments with spatial distributions exhibiting autocorrelation*

The following three models varied widely in their constituent predictor variables. Table 9.40 gives the final model for the percentage of pupils in each school in receipt of violin tuition. Initial versions of the model included `CompArtsFlag`, `PerfPercentileRank`, `PCEligibleFSM`, `PCWalk` and `PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils` but, having considered the statistical significance of the various estimates, this univariate model was adopted instead.

**Table 9.40** Percentage of music service pupils in each school learning violin - final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Standardised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	1.51486		0.13099	11.6	$<1 \times 10^{-14}$
PerfPercentileRank	-0.00966	-0.412	0.00312	-3.1	$<0.01$
Residual standard error for model: 0.455 on 47 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.17					
<i>F statistic for model:</i> 9.6 on 1 and 47 DF, $p$ : $<0.01$					

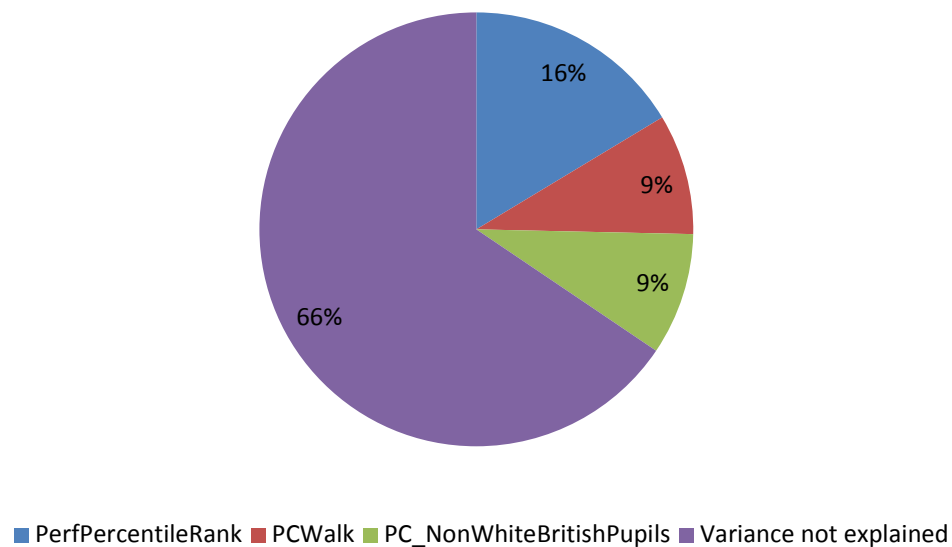
Table 9.40 tells a slightly surprising story: In popular consciousness the violin is sometimes regarded as the instrument of the all-round academic ‘high flyer’ (e.g. Gayle, 2013). Yet, in fact, over one sixth for variation in the amount of violin tuition offered in different schools can be explained from the negative

contribution of `PerfPercentileRank`. In other words, tuition was more prevalent in schools with lower positions in national league tables for KS2 assessments and GCSE results. This is in contrast to previous models featuring `PerfPercentileRank`. These implied that increased engagement with music service tuition was associated with *higher* school performance rankings. Cost may be one reason for this difference, since the violin is a relatively cheap instrument. Given that table 9.30 shows a strong correlation between `PerfPercentileRank` and `PCEligibleFSM`, one conclusion is that the violin is more popular in schools with higher levels of FSM eligibility, and that this associated, in turn, with a school's position in league tables.

The model for flute take-up by school (Table 9.41) was very different. It featured three predictor variables: `PerfPercentileRank`, `PCWalk` and `PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils`. The biggest contribution (see figure 9.16) came from `PerfPercentileRank`, which in this case contributed positively. The remaining two variables contributed equally to the model suggesting that flute take-up (a) increased as the percentage of pupils walking to school increased and (b) decreased as the number of BAME pupils increased. The positive contribution of `PCWalk` offers tentative evidence that pupils' mode of transport might be reflected in the instrument they chose to study. Flute may have been a more practical choice for pupils who had to walk to school. This finding relates to those from the Group 2 models, where the length of time over which pupils undertake tuition was related (albeit in a small way) to the size of the instrument they learned. The negative contribution of `PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils` suggests flute tuition was more common in schools with greater numbers of White British pupils, potentially giving further credence to the earlier point that pupils from some particular ethnic groups may avoid taking up this instrument due to perceived cultural associations.

**Table 9.41** Percentage of pupils in each school learning flute - final model.

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'dised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	0.26792		0.27344	0.98	0.3325
PerfPercentileRank	0.00874	0.448	0.00257	3.4	<0.01
PCWalk	0.00855	0.398	0.00279	3.06	<0.01
PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils	-0.00543	-0.289	0.00239	-2.27	<0.05
Residual standard error for model: 0.346 on 44 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.344					
<i>F statistic for model: 7.71 on 3 and 44 DF, <math>p</math>: &lt;0.001</i>					

**Figure 9.16** A decomposition of the  $R^2$  value associated with the flute take-up by school regression model presented in table 9.41.

In the case of guitar, there are strong similarities between the final univariate model adopted in Table 9.42 and the equivalent LSOA-based model presented in table 9.19. In both, the percentage of BAME young people makes a significant negative contribution, suggesting that this instrument was particularly popular in schools and areas with larger White British populations.



**Table 9.42** Percentage of music service pupils in each school learning guitar - final model

	<i>Estimate</i>	<i>Std'dised estimates (<math>\beta</math>)</i>	<i>Std. Error</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>
(Intercept)	1.34030		0.26539	5.05	$<1 \times 10^{-5}$
PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils	-0.01066	-0.369	0.00396	-2.69	$<0.01$
Residual standard error for model: 0.598 on 46 degrees of freedom					
$R^2$ for model: 0.136					
<i>F statistic for model: 7.25 on 1 and 46 DF, <math>p</math>: <math>&lt;0.01</math></i>					

Table 9.43 ranks the various predictor variables in terms of their overall contribution to group 3 models. These figures have been calculated by taking the root-mean-squares (RMS) of the standardised coefficients in each model.

**Table 9.43** Quadratic (RMS) mean standardised coefficients for each predictor used in a group 3 model, ranked in size order.

PC_IrishPupils	0.76
PerfPercentileRank	0.43
PCWalk	0.40
PC_NonWhiteBritishPupils	0.40
PCEligibleFSM	0.39
CompArtsFlag	0.35
E27PerPupil0910	0.27

The largest contributor overall in group 3 was PC\_IrishPupils, however this only featured in one model, as did the third largest, PCWalk. However, both PerfPercentileRank and PC\_NonWhiteBritishPupils made large contributions to many of these models and can thus really be regarded as the 'key' indicators in this group of models. As was the case with the four key predictors identified from the group 1 models, the true contribution of PCWalk and PCEligibleFSM may, in fact, be higher still, since they correlate strongly with many other predictors in table 9.44 and thus have been excluded from some models on the grounds of multicollinearity. That PCWalk did not appear more prominently in these models is slightly surprising, given the amount of comment in the literature about the relationship between pupils' need to travel to school, and their ability to undertake instrumental tuition.

## Summary

The fourth of this study's research questions was:

Does a detailed case study of a music service which was particularly well-financed by the MSF offer evidence that these hidden barriers were ameliorated at the local level?

This section addresses this question with reference to the hidden barriers to accessing local authority instrumental tuition highlighted in Chapter 4.

### *Socio-economic stratification*

In order to obtain an appropriate proxy predictor variable, it was necessary within the regression models to restrict broader notions of 'middle class' and 'working class' to a more focused definition relating to the numbers of households in the ABC1 category. For the same reason, an ability to pay tuition fees was taken as equating with an absence of income deprivation. Yet even if one accepts that neither assumption is problem-free, the fact that these two predictors correlate so strongly with every other predictor in table 9.3a confirms that they exerted particularly powerful influences on many other aspects of life within the case study authority. Drawing on the theoretical perspectives in Chapter 4, this observation supports the argument that families with the appropriate socio-economic means continued to be able to deploy a wide range of 'resource boosters' as a means of overcoming the hidden barriers to music service provision. For this reason, the true impact of the ABC1 and Income Deprivation measures is often 'masked' in the regression models. Instead, it is the evidence of the resource boosters that we see, whether these be in the form of vehicle ownership, housing conditions or schools with a strong level of academic achievement.

### *Income deprivation*

Chapter 7 explained that, in comparison to other services, the case study music service levied a lower tuition fees on parents. Following MSF guidelines, it also developed comprehensive remission policies for those in receipt of state benefits. However, figures 8.5 and 8.6 confirm that even in the case study authority, fee increases *did* impact on the take-up of provision, and that this impact was greatest in areas with higher levels of income

deprivation. By means of illustration, we may look to the results of a Syrjala test comparing the spatial distributions of SRLQ(L) (shown in figure 8.5) and the IMD2010 Income Deprivation Domain scores. The result was non-significant ( $\psi = 0.0393$ ;  $p = 0.109$ , 9,999 permutations). Put simply, this implies that—in statistical terms—a map plotting areas of income deprivation in the case study authority would be *just as effective* at depicting variation in instrumental tuition take-up as figure 9.5 itself. Yet socio-economic factors were not only associated with the take-up of tuition, but also the duration of tuition. Pupils in areas with higher ABC1 populations were considerably more likely to continue their lessons for two years or more.

*Influence of vehicle ownership, instrument size/weight and home-school distance*

An association was identified between areas with higher levels of family vehicle ownership and higher average ages of tuition cessation. Vehicle ownership was also an important factor in predicting the take up of South Asian instruments. As noted, some of these are heavier and/or bigger, meaning that a car may be more necessary for their transportation. In contrast, steel pan take-up was associated with lower levels of vehicle ownership (also lower levels of access to public transport). As noted elsewhere, this may point to the fact that steel pan players were more likely to live close to their pan orchestra, negating the need for transport for them or their instruments. However, one implication of this finding—supported by figure 9.8—is that those not living close to a pan orchestra may be less able to access this form of tuition.

For primary learners, instrumental weight was a small but significant factor in predicting how long they would continue lessons. Distance was not significant, possibly due to the finding reported in Chapter 8 that pupils in the case study tended to live a relatively short distance from their primary schools. However, for those pupils who successfully navigated the transition to secondary school, weight ceased to be a significant factor in predicting the duration of their lessons. Presumably, it became less of a factor as they grew larger and stronger. On the other hand, distance was then significant, a

finding which suggested that the extra distances associated with travelling to secondary school could influence decisions to give up, at least to a small degree. As noted above, there was no significant relationship between tuition duration and either instrument weight or size for those pupils who had commenced tuition at secondary school. This suggests they were more aware of what they were getting in to, and had possibly considered the practicalities first.

### *Family awareness of arts and culture, home life and environment*

There was some evidence that aspects of pupils' home life and environment had an impact. Numbers of pupils who reached the two-year tuition milestone were lower in areas with higher levels of poor housing. Similarly, pupils were better able to manage the primary-secondary transition in areas with higher quality housing and lower levels of crime. It was perhaps surprising that the number of individuals working in culture, media and sport did not make more prominent contributions to the regression models. However, it is possible that this measure was not appropriate as a proxy for family value of arts and culture, or that too few people in the case study authority worked in these areas, reducing statistical power.

On the other hand, proxy measures for more general educational achievement were far more potent predictors of music service engagement. Overall, tuition was taken up more often in areas associated with higher levels of school- and university-level academic achievement. More specifically, the take up of Endangered Species instruments was more common in areas inhabited by more graduates. Both of these associations suggest higher levels of local cultural capital.

### *School culture*

Schools with higher positions in performance tables also tended to have larger groups of instrumental learners. These learners undertook tuition for longer and were more likely to have lessons on more than one instrument. Significantly, however, violin take-up did not follow this general trend since it was more common in schools with lower performance table positions. The

underlying reasons for this are not readily clear and require further investigation; there could be cultural, religious or practical reasons. Provision for steel pans was an area where a school's stated commitment to arts provision, as evidenced through Artsmark or Arts College status, was very clear. Endangered Species instrument take-up was also more prevalent within these schools.

### *Pupil ethnic background*

Conclusions with regard to the impact of the ethnic background of case study pupils are more equivocal. Chapter 5 found that, nationally, the MSF had been successful in increasing the number of pupils from BAME backgrounds taking up music service tuition. Subsequently, Chapter 8 confirmed that the case study music service had been even more successful than the norm. Therefore, to an extent, we must conclude that this hidden barrier was successfully overcome. On the other hand, it must also be acknowledged that the overall take-up of tuition was still higher in areas with greater numbers of White British young people. Similarly, schools with fewer BAME pupils also had higher levels of provision overall. The model for ERLQ implied that higher levels of participation amongst BAME pupils were associated with a nexus of non-White ethnicity *and* higher socio-economic status.

This is one area where recourse to a local regression model (See Chapter 10) would be particularly helpful, since it could identify how the relationship between socio-economic status, ethnicity and instrumental tuition take-up might vary spatially over the case study area. There was evidence that South Asian instruments had been taken up by a broader range of minority ethnic pupils, not just those from South Asian backgrounds. On the other hand, Irish instruments remained very much associated with areas and schools with larger Irish populations. As noted, there was evidence that guitar was more likely to be associated with areas and schools with larger White British populations.

A tangential issue relates to instrumental learners attending special schools. As Chapter 5 noted, the national trend during the MSF-era was for this aspect of provision to increase. However, in the cases study authority, there was clear evidence that it decreased. The reasons for this are not clear and would need further contextual investigation. For instance, it is not clear why the joint project between the music service and a local special school in 2004 was not repeated or extended in later years.

## Chapter 10 – Implications and Reflections

### Introduction

This chapter concludes the thesis with implications and recommendations, made in response to the fifth research question. These are given in the context of the duties placed upon Music Education Hubs, which have now taken on many of the traditional responsibilities of local authority music services (DfE/ACE, 2011). Reference is made to, amongst other sources, ‘post-NPME literature’: a series of reports published since the implementation of the National Plan for Music Education (Ofsted, 2013; ABRSM, 2014; Widdison, 2014; Zeserson *et al*, 2014; Ballantyne *et al*, 2015; Derbyshire, 2015; Sharp, 2015; Creech *et al*, 2016; Hanley and Widdison, 2016). Subsequently, a series of recommendations is made regarding hub instrumental teachers’ professional development opportunities. These are framed by the social praxeological model adopted throughout this thesis. Finally, some reflections and conclusions are offered regarding the potential of the deviant idiographic case study methodology, combined with the novel geospatial methods employed within phase 2 of this research for further studies within music education.

### Implications for instrumental music education in the ‘hub era’

This National Plan... aims for equality of opportunity for all pupils, regardless of race; gender; where they live; their levels of musical talent; parental income; whether they have special educational needs or disabilities; and whether they are looked after children (DfE/DCMS, 2011: 9).

Less advantaged pupils are often less involved, even when provision is free (Ofsted National Lead for Music, Robin Hammerton, 16<sup>th</sup> July 2014).

The last of this study’s research questions was:

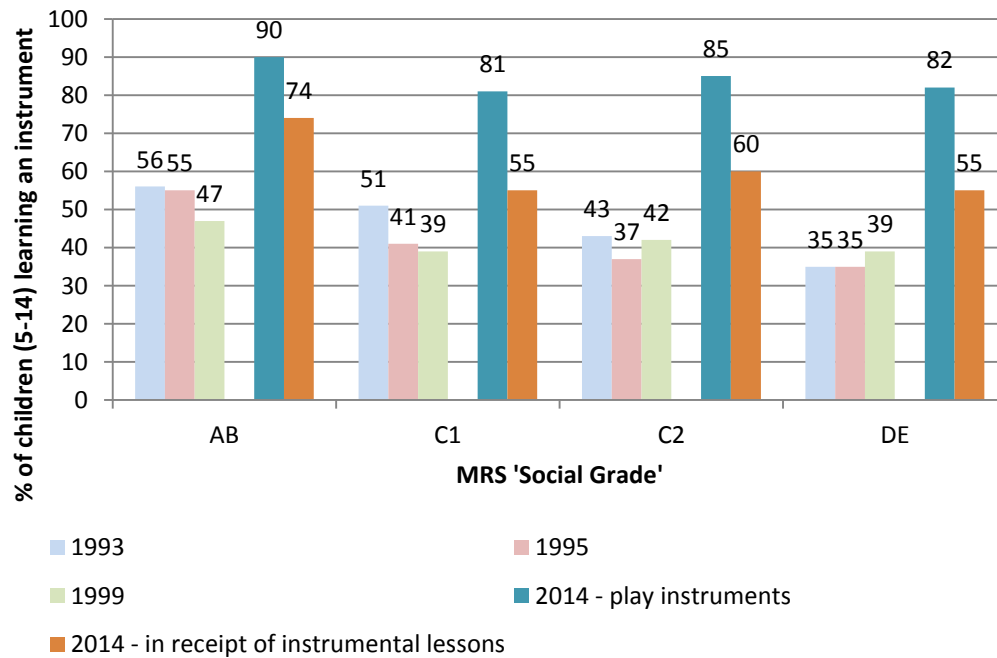
What implications can be drawn from the implementation of the MSF, both at a national and a local level, as music education policy continues to evolve in the era of music education ‘hubs’.

The juxtaposition of the extract from the NPME above and the remark by the present Ofsted National Lead for Music suggest that we still have some way to go to achieve completely equitable access to music provision in England. An overriding theme emerging from the post-NPME research literature is that socio-economic barriers remain some of the most difficult to tackle. Limited financial means has recently been identified by Creech *et al* (2016) as a key barrier to participation in music hub activities. We know from Sharp's (2015) analysis that parents continue to provide up to 61% of hub income, particularly in London and the South East. Yet the evidence points to the fact that a lack of money alone cannot be the only reason why lower socio-economic groups are less likely to take part. For instance, Ofsted (2013) observed that even when school policy allowed instrumental tuition to be paid for by the Pupil Premium, it was *still* those pupils who were eligible for the Premium who were least likely to participate. Similarly, Creech *et al* (2016) gave an account of one hub where uptake for after-school music clubs was very low, despite these clubs being both open access and free to attend. In this instance, the researchers concluded, it appeared that 'a range of barriers to participation, above and beyond cultural relevance or even economic constraints, may have inhibited access (2016: 8). In this sense, the situation remains largely unchanged from during the MSF era. Both nationally, and within the case study, it was these same issues which underlay many identified access challenges.

It seems that for as long as provision remains available as part of the school day through Whole Class Ensemble Teaching (WCET, the successor to WO), those eligible for Pupil Premium are just as likely to participate (Sharp, 2015). However, once provision becomes extra-curricular and, potentially, chargeable, there is considerable evidence that the socio-economic profile of those receiving instrumental tuition begins to change. As was noted by one hub instrumental teacher: 'children whose parents cannot afford music lessons get a very poor deal. After their taster sessions there is nothing further for them' (quoted in Widdison, 2014: 4). Quantitative evidence for this change comes from the ABRSM (2014), which found that differences between the AB and DE social groups identified in the 1990s were still



apparent in 2014. This edition of the *Making Music* report was the first to distinguish between those young people playing musical instruments and those receiving instrumental tuition. Whilst the difference between those playing instruments was eight percentage points, the difference between those playing instruments and those receiving tuition was far higher at 19 points (figure 10.1).



**Figure 10.1** An update of figure 4.1, which includes data from ABRSM's (2014) *Making Music* report. This was the first report in the series to differentiate between those playing instruments and those receiving instrumental tuition.

In an indication of the equivalent situation further 'up the pyramid', Derbyshire (2015) reported findings from a 2014 survey of the membership of the National Children's Orchestras of Great Britain. 20% of members received tuition in school in contrast to between 69% and 87% who were taught privately. Within the National Youth Orchestra, under half of players (44%) were state educated, with the remainder studying either in independent schools or specialist music schools (mainly on Music and Dance Scheme Bursaries). Derbyshire (2015) also cited evidence of a trend towards decreasing numbers of conservatoire students coming from 'low participation neighbourhoods'<sup>92</sup>. This number had fallen from 5.2% in 2003-03 to 3.9% in

<sup>92</sup> On the basis of five conservatoires surveyed: The Royal Academic of Music, Royal Ross Purves  
July 2017

2012-13. Figures for 2012-13 suggested that one quarter of all conservatoire students attended private school<sup>93</sup>.

It seems reasonable to conclude that, whilst instrumental musical engagement is broadly socio-economically equitable at the WCET stage, by the time those have progressed up the pyramid to achieve professional standards, the situation remains very different indeed. Whilst there is less data available for post-NPME learner ethnicity, figures for WCET participation from Sharp (2015) and those from Scharff (2015) can give us a sense of the situation at the 'bottom' and the 'top' of the pyramid. Whilst WCET participation by BAME pupils is in line with the national population, by the time instrumentalists reach higher education, only 10% of university music degree students and only 8% of conservatoire<sup>94</sup> students are from BAME backgrounds.

We may look to the findings of the case study in phase 2 to help us understand some of the reasons why this might be. For instance, perhaps because they were more likely to be able to deploy effective resource boosters, it was pupils from areas with greater concentrations of ABC1 families who were better placed to reach the critical two-year tuition milestone. Moreover, there was tentative evidence that BAME participation was higher in areas where a larger BAME population cohered with higher numbers of ABC1 families. Other manifestations of resource boosters, for instance achieving admission at a school with a higher position in academic performance tables, were also in evidence. Higher levels of academic success were associated with greater levels of instrumental tuition take-up and continuation. Similarly, the prevalence of household vehicles was strongly associated with pupils continuing their tuition to an older age.

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College of Music, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, Royal Northern College of Music and Trinity Laban Conservatoire of Music and Dance.

<sup>93</sup> Although Derbyshire did concede that the musical scholarships available in these schools were often a sought-after route for children from lower income backgrounds who were keen to progress in music.

<sup>94</sup> On the basis of the basis of the five conservatoires listed previously.

One conclusion which may be drawn from the situation regarding socio-economic status and ethnicity is the continuing salience of hidden barriers to participation. After all, something causes these very distinctive patterns of attrition. The existence of such barriers is another clear theme emerging from the Post-NPME literature. Identified barriers include many reviewed in previous chapters but the list is extended to include others, which are typically related to those listed above. For instance, variable family support and misgivings regarding career opportunities (Creech *et al*, 2016) can be related to the early discussion regarding pupils' home and family life, whilst pupils regarded as 'lacking motivation' (ABRSM, 2014) can also be regarded as part of a broader socio-economic context as explored in Chapter 4. Summarising these various factors, Creech *et al* note that, within three hubs serving 'plural communities'<sup>95</sup>, 'the view that 'music is for everyone' was tempered by a recognition that limited opportunities and resources posed significant barriers to participation' (2016: 9). Personal reflections from two practitioners on the ongoing impact of these factors were quoted by Zeserson *et al*:

...progression is very difficult and fragmented... I did used to think it was linear and continuous but I have completely changed my view... There are all sorts of social, economic and psychological barriers to instrumental progression... human progression rather than skills progression as a measure would be really useful (Quoted in Zeserson, 2015: 27).

I still think it is socio-economic class based – there is a hierarchy which needs to be abolished.... The [NFMY?] School Proms are a good model – if you compare the Schools Proms programmes there is an enormous acceptance and integration and inclusion of a range of musics. Young people need to know that their music is equally valued (Quoted in *ibid.*).

The ABRSM (2014) offered confirmatory evidence that it was typically young people from families in social grades C1-DE who continued to be most affected by these barriers. Following the theoretical perspectives reviewed by Parcel and Hendrix (2014) this would be precisely because their families are

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<sup>95</sup> According to Creech *et al*, 'Plural' is a term used in discussions about how local government policies might change when the population is so ethnically mixed that no one group is the majority' (2016: 12).

typically unable to overcome these through the deployment of social, cultural or financial resource boosters.

Whilst not a common theme in the post-NPME literature, transport issues were raised by Creech *et al* (2016). One hub leader reported a realisation that minibuses would be needed to convey pupils between schools, whilst a school head of music observed that even within a single city, accessing various hub activities was very difficult without a car or good public transport. As a result, the researchers made the recommendation that transport issues should be considered very practically by hubs wishing to increase access and participation. It will be recalled that the case study findings were that the primary-secondary transfer point was problematic in many ways, but that these problems were better tackled by young people living in areas with better quality housing and lower levels of crime. According to the post-NPME literature, this transition point remains as difficult to negotiate as ever. The case study finding that distance exerts a small, but significant, influence on pupils' continuity of tuition suggests that one practical way in which incoming Year 7s might be supported would be through the issuing of subsidised public transport or taxi tokens for the days on which instruments are needed in school or rehearsal venues. A similar scheme might operate for primary pupils on the basis of instrument weight. In many ways, this would be a logical extension of the good practices established following the Endangered Species scheme some ten years ago.

Practical matters relating to pupils' housing and local environment are underexplored in much of the post-NPME literature. One professional in Creech *et al*'s study reported that some young people could be 'scared' to take an instrument home: 'they don't want to be seen with an instrument, they don't want to be known as coming into music extra-curricular or anything like that' (2016: 37). Whilst it is not clear how widely such concerns are held, there is certainly a resonance with the experiences of some Endangered Species learners (see Chapter 4). Evidence from the case study does add further credence to these concerns. Given that pupils from areas with lower levels of crime and disorder were better placed to make the primary-

secondary transition, also that pupils living in these areas were more likely to take up Endangered Species instruments. The latter finding, taken alongside the fact that guitar tuition was more prevalent in areas associated with greater levels of crime, does offer a *hint* that the type of instrument carried makes a difference. This 'image issue' was not lost on one of the headteachers interviewed by Creech *et al*:

Yesterday I had a really poignant moment. It was after school about 4.15 or so and I had to go out and as I was walking back in, I saw a Primary-aged schoolboy probably about 9 or 10 years old, walking home with his sister and his mom in his school uniform, and he had a guitar slung over his back. And I was thinking to myself, 'Why aren't I seeing (our) boys walking home with guitars slung over their backs?' That's what we need to crack (Secondary headteacher, quoted in Creech *et al*, 2016: 56).

In contrast to the paucity of information on pupils' housing and local environment, concerns regarding the influence of parents and families were very common themes in the post-NPME literature. 'Parental attitudes and engagement', concluded Zeserson and colleagues, are 'likely to become a more and more important factor in young people's consistent access to musical experiences as subsidy is decentralised and reduced' (2014: 45). Within the ABRSM (2014) survey, instrumental learners from AB backgrounds were considerably more likely (36%) to cite parental encouragement as a key driver to take up tuition than those from DC households (21%) (The equivalent figure for those learning through private lessons was 50%). The ABRSM authors concluded that the 'social and financial challenges faced by parents from C1-DE social grades mean music tuition and instrument purchase are likely to be viewed as a challenge as well as an opportunity' (2014: 43). This very much echoes the case study finding regarding pupils who were better placed to complete two years of tuition. It will be recalled that such learners tended to live in areas inhabited by greater numbers of people from ABC1 social grades and exhibiting lower levels of poor housing.

On the other hand, as in much of the literature reviewed during phase 1, it is often difficult to discern whether concerns regarding parental support

reported in the post-NPME literature are *perceived* or *evidenced*. The reality may be obscured by the influence of the prevailing, elaborated codes discussed in Chapter 4. For instance, 29% of instrumental teachers surveyed by ABRSM reported that they were put off teaching in state schools because of perceived concerns regarding 'unsupportive or uninterested family members' (2014: 43). Creech *et al* (2016) noted that some secondary heads of music felt that one of the ways in which musical inclusion and participation could be monitored was through observed 'change of parental and community perception and attitudes to music' (2016: 79). This suggests that contentious issue is at least 'on the radar' of some schools, but given the discussion in Chapter 4, it may be that *actually effecting* a positive and inclusive change to these perceptions will be far from straightforward.

The broader issue of the value families place on participation in arts and culture is touched upon in some of the post-NPME literature. Amongst ABRSM's (2014) respondents, 'I don't come from a musical family' was the fourth most frequently cited reason for never having learned a musical instrument. The three more frequent reasons were that respondents professed a lack of interest, had concerns over cost and perceived too few opportunities in school. It is arguable that, in their own way, each of these three reasons is symptomatic of lower levels of social and cultural capital. Pupils from social grades C1 and DE were found by ABRSM (2014) to be less likely to have family and friends who play an instrument. Given the salience of social capital identified in Chapter 4, this is significant, since research suggests that 'intergenerational closure'—defined as 'occurring when parents know their children's friends', parents' (Parcel and Hendrix, 2014: 363)—is important for building reserves of family social capital. This is because it 'enables parents to pool resources in establishing and enforcing norms for children' (*ibid.*) Derbyshire cites the findings of the recent Warwick Commission, which argued for the existence of a 'participation gap' in cultural engagement. The Commission found that the most culturally engaged groups in society amount to only 15% of the population. Moreover, these groups were likely to be of higher

socio-economic status. Derbyshire also cites DCMS evidence that 44% of those attending music concerts were from amongst the 8% of the wealthiest in society: they were better educated, more affluent and less ethnically diverse. This implies the pyramid model of progression has implications for future audiences as much as it does for future musical performers:

We face a situation in which the voices, experiences and talents of the UK's population as a whole are not being expressed, represented or developed within the Cultural and Creative industries (Neelands *et al*, 2015: 32).

According to the post-NPME literature, differences in individual school culture regarding music remain as salient as ever in influencing young people to take up instrumental tuition. 40% of schools participating in Zeserson *et al*'s (2014) study felt unable to agree that 'all pupils participate in musical activities (irrespective of family circumstances)'. Moreover, 32% did not feel that 'a wide range of musical styles and genres [were] explored and valued. Well over half (55%) could not offer reassurance that pupils experienced 'a wide diversity of musical role models'. On the other hand, ABRSM (2014) identified school culture as a key factor in the encouragement of young people from more deprived backgrounds. An instrumental teacher summed up this equivocal position in a comment to the researchers:

In schools where music is prioritised and invested in, it is always the case that instrumental teaching has enough school and parental support to flourish. In places where Music Services and Music Education Hubs are not supported financially by local authorities, or spend much of their time dealing with bureaucracy and fundraising, I believe instrumental teachers will always struggle (quoted in ABRSM, 2014: 46).

The case study findings confirm this view, in that some aspects of provision appeared better cultivated in schools which had made a formal commitment to high quality arts provision through Artsmark or Arts College accreditation. Specifically, steel pan provision—which would have also necessitated considerable *financial* commitment—was more prevalent in these schools, as was tuition on Endangered Species instruments. These schools had appeared to take a similar position to that adopted by one head of music interviewed by Creech *et al*:

Participation in music - it really is able to bring all students together – all layers of the community. We have a very diverse school, with a lot of different nationalities, all sorts of backgrounds, cultural, economic backgrounds, wide catchment area. So it really is something that they can all unite with. It doesn't matter about academic ability a lot of the time. It doesn't matter about language. They say that music is a universal language and that's something that I believe in and have shown here especially (quoted in Creech *et al*, 2016: 34).

Perhaps in a bid to address perceptions of negative parental attitudes, some head teachers had made a proactive decision to promote instrumental learning on the basis of its associated other-than-musical benefits and the potential for a well-paid career in the creative industries (Creech *et al*, 2016). Others were actively monitoring the numbers and profiles of participating pupils in terms of socio-economic status, ethnicity and cultural background. The evidence from the case study supports these pro-active strategies.

It is important to state that the post-NPME literature attests to the fact that many of the successes of the MSF have been continued into the hub era. There are many, varied examples of high-quality, transformative instrumental teaching and learning and of innovative strategies for overcoming these and other barriers. The case study indicates that much *can* be achieved with the twin advantages of secure, sustained funding and strong local political and administrative support. As such, I am in full agreement with the conclusions of the following two studies:

We feel it is the workforce that needs to be celebrated and supported as it is these music teachers who are the important component of the success of the NPME. If teachers are not appreciated or able to develop viable and fulfilling careers then unfortunately they will consider leaving the profession or go to work solely in the private sector leaving those who are not able to afford tuition at a massive disadvantage (Hanley and Widdison, 2016: 7).

The persistence of specific dysfunctions in our music education system—despite exemplary provision in parts—needs to be seen in the wider context of creativity, innovation and effective teaching and leadership which are also a feature of the landscape. There are brilliant examples of music in schools up and down the country, irrespective of differences in levels of local deprivation, which signal clearly what can result from the



right blend of curriculum, pedagogy, partnership and excellent teaching / leadership. However, the things that aren't working are really not working, and if we don't solve them quickly they'll erode and undermine the positive progress that has been made (Zeserson, 2015: 11).

The challenge is thus to ensure that best practices regarding increasing access to instrumental learning are shared and developed in the era of hubs.

### **Promoting a more reflexive music education hub workforce**

Chapter 5 noted that the MSF helped in many cases to facilitate the successful professional development of the workforce. It is my belief that strong, evidence-based professional development is the best strategy available to tackle some of the more pernicious hidden barriers identified in this thesis. Again, social praxeology affords a useful framework in which to consider how a successful development strategy might begin to be realised. Fundamentally, its emphasis on *researcher* reflexivity provides a blueprint for potential models of *practitioner* reflectivity. As I hope is clear by this point, I feel that I have had a foot in both of these camps. In my own case, recognition of the doxic aspects of the music education field in which I worked came about as a result of (a) needing to respond to renewed access and participation challenges within my immediate professional context and (b) obtaining the necessary research, technical and epistemological tools with which to make such a response. This thesis is in essence a tangible, composite outcome of these processes.

In a series of insightful articles based on fieldwork across several international educational contexts, Hardy (2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2014) has applied a social praxeological lens to the study of teachers' professional development. He characterises the contemporary teacher development field as highly-contested, colonised by general social trends towards accountability and results-driven thinking (Hardy, 2009a). Outcomes of this field colonisation, according to Hardy, have included, firstly, the proliferation of 'short-term' (2008: 110), 'quick-fix' (2010: 78) training activities and, secondly, increased susceptibility amongst some teachers to a 'conservative'

or ‘compliant habitus’. By contrast, he argues, longer-lasting, evolutionary, locally-situated and collaborative professional development opportunities promote a more reflexive habitus, focused ‘on learning and a capacity for critique’ (Hardy, 2010: 78). According to Hardy, the adoption of a reflexive habitus ‘at least partially ameliorates neoliberal and bureaucratic logics and is reflective of the field of teachers’ work as a space of active, ongoing, collaborative, critical, student-focused teacher learning practices’ (Hardy, 2010: 82).

Hardy’s (2009b) study of senior Canadian educators’ and policy makers’ views on teacher training policy concluded that reflexive professional development tended to be associated with a core set of practices. A more recent study (Hardy, 2014) has highlighted further, related practices, undertaken at the level of the individual teacher. Below, Hardy’s findings from both studies have been combined as the basis of a five-point framework:

1. Incorporating approaches that ‘begin with teachers’ existing knowledge and understanding’ (Hardy, 2009b: 509);
2. Broadening horizons: ‘learning to learn’ (Hardy, 2014: 504);
3. ‘Appropriating and mediating external pressures’ (Hardy, 2014: 506);
4. Remaining ‘cognisant of broader conceptions of students’ needs’ (Hardy, 2009b: 509); and
5. Addressing specific circumstances (Hardy, 2009b): ‘valuing the local, the situated’ (Hardy, 2014: 505).

This framework is used to identify possible ways in which the results of the present research might be applied practically to support the professional development of current hub instrumental teachers. Given the Bourdieusian impetus behind each of these five points, a particular concern is to help engender reflexivity with regards to teachers’ individual musical and professional identities.

*1. Incorporating approaches that that ‘begin with teachers’ existing knowledge and understanding’ (Hardy, 2009b: 509).*

Hardy is clear that a critical habitus is first and foremost the product of previous professional educational experience. Teachers, he argues, ‘need to draw upon existing knowledge and understanding as a vehicle to engage’

with the challenges they face. They should not treat these challenges in isolation (Hardy, 2009b: 529). Like any other social agent, a teacher's position in the professional music education field is determined by their unique range of capital endowments. Just as Bourdieu expects researchers to consider their own position in the field before embarking on empirical work, it is essential that instrumental music teachers are given the opportunity to consider how their own habitus is a complex product of past wins and losses in the 'social games' of professional music, and music education. As Hardy puts it:

the professional development practices within the field of teachers' work [are] a product of the constant interplay and contestation between actors' habitus, the capitals that they possess (and that 'possess' them) and the broader social structures sedimented within the field (2010: 74).

By definition, professional instrumental music teachers have attained sufficient levels of cultural and institutional capital to enable its conversion to economic capital through paid teaching engagements. Since the pyramid model can typically be said to have have 'worked for them' well enough to enable this accrual of sufficient capital, its successful ascent may result in a degree of *illusio*. 'Once one enters the game-field', Pilario notes:

everything within it appears obvious. The involved player does not feel the need to question the game. Even those who want to undertake some 'revolution' within the field have to play within the ambit of its rules and must first recognise that the stakes are worth fighting for (2006: 142-143).

In practical terms, this calls for professional development opportunities which supportively, yet explicitly, encourage instrumental teachers to consider their own development as musicians and educators. This should be more than a rehearsal of their *résumé* and professional 'peak experiences' but instead an honest appraisal of what lay behind each career avenue or opportunity taken, each 'break through' moment, each entry to a musical 'scene' or acceptance into a professional network. In parallel, there should be practical consideration of how things *might* have been had their particular range of capital endowments been different.

Such an approach mirrors Bourdieu's programme for addressing three types of researcher bias (see Chapter 2). Specifically, professional development needs to encourage instrumental teachers to consider the influence of, firstly, their general *social* position and, secondly, their specific professional position and experience within the music education *field*. Subsequently, this reflection must remain suitably rooted in teachers' everyday pedagogical and musical practice so that it does not become a mere *intellectual* exercise, but instead helps them treat problems of young people's access and participation in instrumental tuition as 'concrete... to be solved practically' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 39).

## *2. Broadening horizons: 'learning to learn' (Hardy, 2014: 504)*

The type of professional development activity envisioned in point 1 will not be easy to attain. It may be recalled from Chapter 1 that the world of instrumental music education has sometimes been regarded as evolving very slowly as pupils become socialised to adopt professional practices associated with their own teachers. Ultimately this has contributed to the 'situated curriculum' described in Chapter 6.

More generally then, we will need to situate the kind of challenging, critical activity envisioned above within a broader, more responsive, learning-centred professional development culture. Hardy (2014) concluded that teachers whose habitus emphasised 'professional growth and learning' (p.505) tended to participate actively in diverse development activities occurring in a 'multiplicity of situations' (ibid.).

In one sense, there are strong indications that—as a workforce—hub-based instrumental music teachers are already developing this kind of reflexive, learning-centred culture. This has come about partly through necessity, of course, since the field colonisation of the past thirty years has already resulted in significant impetus for professionals to evolve their habitus. One pertinent example from a decade ago was the shift towards group and whole-class instrumental teaching associated with Wider Opportunities schemes (see Chapter 5). This was associated with a well-received national

professional development programme (Beach *et al*, 2011) and a plethora of local training initiatives. More recently, we may cite the coming together of FMS and NAME as Music Mark in 2013 as evidence of a concerted desire to represent, reinvigorate and develop the professional music education community in terms of its collective social capital. Similarly, organisations such as the Musicians' Union and ISM have been very active in supporting and informing those working in hubs as they adopt new working practices and organising principles (e.g. see Musicians' Union, 2015). Regular, large-scale professional development events such as the annual 'Music and Drama Education Expo' and Musicians' Union 'Teachers' CPD Weekend' offer further indicators of this trend. The development of the Certificate for Music Educators is yet another example.

However, in another sense such developments at the *national* level have become all the more essential in light of potential challenges to this emerging learning culture at the *local* level. The post-NPME fragmentation of many Local Authority Music Services into looser affiliations of self-employed teachers has, in some cases, led to fewer organisation-wide training opportunities and reduced ability to gain funding to attend courses (Widdison, 2014; Hanley and Widdison, 2016). This trend is to be lamented, since:

it is training, support, being part of a community of music teachers, promoting best practice in work and communicating with other teachers which are among the wider factors of what incentivises teachers to work for a third party and not be an independent operator (Hanley and Widdison, 2016: 5).

Such concerns are not, of course, limited to the field of hub music education. Hardy argues that the 'marginalisation of collaborative practices within the field of teachers' work' (2010: 81) is the result of teachers having too little time and too high a workload to undertake meaningful professional development activity. In turn, he notes, these limitations contribute to a more 'compliant' habitus.

### 3. '*Appropriating and mediating external pressures*' (Hardy, 2014: 506)

Building on the positive national trends identified in point 2, there is then a need for professional development activities to help hub-based instrumental

music teachers respond critically and confidently to the external pressures routinely faced in the colonised field in which they now operate. In their most recent report on hub working practices, for example, Hanley and Widdison, noted that the increasing delegation of administrative and financial duties to individual instrumental teachers, combined with the fact that some were ‘only communicated with when things were going wrong’ (2016: 6) was contributing to ‘a culture of fear and mistrust’ (ibid.). By contrast, Hardy’s (2014) research suggested that engagement with more substantive professional development opportunities led to teachers forging more confident dispositions which enabled them to ‘challenge managerial logics associated with testing and to provide more substantive learning opportunities for their students’ (p.507).

Thus, it seems likely that the reflexivity called for in points 1 and 2 will only be feasible if the hub workforce is actively given the space to stand back from their day-to-day challenges. Only this way can the *illusio* ‘arising from the logic of the game itself’ (Bourdieu, 2000: 11) can be recognised for what it is, and alternative possibilities be considered in earnest. More prosaically, but no less importantly, it is vital that hubs retain centralised administrative and leadership teams who can develop strategy, maintain centralised resources and act as sources of guidance and support. A fully decentralised model may result in no individual ‘player of the game’ being able to call for a pause in play, to rise above the internal ‘logic’ of the game.

*4. Remaining ‘cognisant of broader conceptions of students’ needs’ (Hardy, 2009b: 509)*

Hardy found that some teachers amongst his participants possessed ‘a more student-focused habitus, reflective of concerns about the needs of particular students’ (Hardy, 2009b: 522). In terms of professional development, this again points to the need for opportunities in which teachers may shake off the *illusio* of their everyday working context and be given supportive time and space to consider student needs afresh. Phase 1 of this research suggested the evolution of a ‘situated curriculum’, in which the ‘pyramid model’ and ‘pragmatic mindset’ became doxic over time. By contrast, Chapter 4 argued

that, in reality, progression up the pyramid has been due to far more than ‘talent’ and ‘motivation’ alone. Moreover, Phase 2 highlighted the continuing salience of a ‘not for me’ habitus, whereby young people from particular social groups have a propensity to undertake and then sustain instrumental tuition.

Through being encouraged to ‘step outside’ their habitus during appropriately nurturing and supportive professional development opportunities, it is hoped that instrumental teachers might be even better placed to look beyond the pyramid to consider hitherto hidden factors. For instance, we may imagine an instrumental teacher working hard to ‘get through’ a long list of pupils rostered for a morning’s teaching before moving on to another school on the other side of town. Perhaps forthcoming graded exams are exerting an additional pressure. It would be very easy in the moment – and perfectly understandable, given the doxic field in which the teacher may be located – to put a young pupil’s apparent failure to bring her cello to the lesson down to a lack of motivation or application. The *illusio* of his immediate situation (which Bourdieu notes, may well be experienced as ‘questions of life and death’ (2000: 11)) may obscure a need to step back and ask how that pupil transported her instrument to school, whether there was petrol for her parents’ car, or indeed a car at all.

Whilst the pyramid has encouraged us to think one way, the continuing salience of the hidden barriers outlined within this thesis, points to a far less predictable, more trepidatious journey.

*5. Addressing specific circumstances (Hardy, 2009b): ‘valuing the local, the situated’ (Hardy, 2014: 505)*

Hardy (2009b) found that an ‘enquiry oriented habitus’ was often associated with teachers who undertook professional development opportunities as a means of considering the ‘peculiar circumstances of individual schools’ (p.524). Such a link, argued Hardy, ‘challenges advocacy for generic and general approaches to professional development which ignore the contexts in which such learning occurs’ (2008: 112). These local enquiries took on many

forms in Hardy's experience, but generally involved collaborating with others working locally (Hardy, 2014). At this point, it should be recalled that Henley (2011) emphasised the importance of local collaboration in music education service delivery, an argument which led to the creation of hubs in the first place. Subsequently, Ofsted called for hubs to:

act as champions, leaders and expert partners, who can arrange systematic, helpful and challenging conversations with each school about the quality of the music education and how the school and hub can work together to improve it (2013: 5).

It is hoped that the findings and case study methodology of Phase 2 of this research might inform these kinds of local enquiries by hub instrumental teachers and administrators. A key message from this second research phase was that suitable detailed data on patterns of participation can also reveal much about *non-participation*. Given its deviant nature, it is important to recall that one of the founding principles for the case study music service was to 'give expression to a local sense of identity' and 'serve the community and develop a local audience' (Education Committee, 1997: 67).

Hubs need to be routinely collecting and analysing detailed participant-level data and using it as the basis to ask questions about who they are reaching and who they are not reaching. Once again, there are positive signs of trends in this direction, for instance consultancy work done by Stone by Stone (2012) for Cornwall Youth Music Action Zone and the analysis of young people's participation in three hubs by Creech *et al* (2016). On the other hand, whilst data is routinely requested at an individual hub level by ACE (2015; Sharp, 2015), this may be at too low a layer of geographical resolution to allow detailed geospatial analysis.

Hub instrumental teachers need to be at the forefront of this work, supporting peers and other professionals to combine data with local knowledge to 'spot the cold spots' in provision (e.g. see Stone by Stone, 2012) and have the 'challenging conversations' Ofsted wish to see. If they are to succeed in this respect, teachers need to be supported through access to better pupil profiling data, better mechanisms for promoting the benefits of musical engagements to the whole community and a better understanding of how



perceived levels of pupil ‘motivation’ and parental ‘commitment’ may, in fact, be indicative of an idiosyncratic, local range of socio-economic, geographical and practical access challenges.

### **Limitations and avenues for further research**

As noted in Chapter 1, Phase 1 of the research grew out of a realisation that, in order to understand the music service operations and provision in the first decade of the new millennium, it was first essential to understand how these complex and multi-faceted organisations had evolved over the previous fifty years. On the other hand, the more I found out, the more the story became more complex and nuanced. Despite a very thorough approach regarding documentary sources, it is likely that some will have been missed – though I am confident that the trends and issues covered can be regarded as the most pertinent. We lack a comprehensive history of local authority music services and it is my hope that Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis go a small way to remedying this situation. Nonetheless, telling this story deserves far more time and effort and I hope that this is something to which I can return in the future.

Phase 2 of the research was subject to several potential limitations. Fundamentally, the findings obtained could only be as accurate as the case study data itself. Strenuous efforts were applied to screen out and remove inaccurate raw data (see Appendix 2), yet errors may have persisted to a very small extent, perhaps due to problems in original data entry (e.g. see figure 8.10 and accompanying footnote). Moreover, it is likely that the music service data underrepresented the experiences of those learning instruments via other routes. Reflecting its larger-than-average Black African and Black Caribbean communities (Table 7.1), the case study authority was home to many Gospel churches. In my anecdotal experience as a local teacher, many young Black musicians developed highly-accomplished performance skills through an alternative, yet no less thorough, ‘apprenticeship’ model associated with worship music. Similarly, the musical and educational impacts of local brass bands, community steel pan orchestras, the local pub band scene and private music academies were not incorporated into the

analysis. Another underrepresented constituency is likely to have been those young people learning an instrument using online resources such as *YouTube*. As Lum and Marsh (2012) argue, the rise in e-learning forces music educators to reconsider the role of face-to-face pedagogy.<sup>96</sup>

One must also accept that the case study data did not necessarily offer a complete picture of young people's musical achievement. It did not provide information on musical progress made (e.g. exam results or teacher assessments), nor did it give an indication of musical style. With regard to the regression models in Chapter 9, it may also be that some of the proxy variables were not as effective as others in representing the underlying 'hidden barriers'. It may be that other, more appropriate, data could be found, and that less variance would go 'unexplained' in each model.

This said, given the difficulties experienced with multicollinearity, expanding the range of variables further might present its own challenges.

### *Extending the 'middle ground' approach*

Chapter 2 characterised the approach taken in phase 2 as inhabiting what Goodchild called the 'middle ground' between the qualitative, idiographic case study and quantitative, nomothetic study. There is considerable scope for this approach to be taken further in order that we may learn more about some of the individual human experiences reflected in the data. Taking a lead from Finnegan's (1989) ground-breaking urban ethnomusicological study of music making in an English town, we could develop ethnographic maps of musical styles and communities to enrich the existing choropleth maps.

Illuminating the geospatial data with the personal narratives of music service pupils, staff and parents would bookend the study well, complementing some of the individual 'voices' that were heard in phase 1. At present, there is but a

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<sup>96</sup> It should be noted that efforts were made to attempt to obtain appropriately geocoded data relating to some of these local traditions. Examples include obtaining lists of licensed premises from the local authority, and seeking out data on local cultural participation. Unfortunately, such sources lacked either the necessary detail or level of spatial resolution. In the case of the list of license premises, for instance, data were not differentiated by licence type, meaning that live music venues could not be disassociated from businesses such as betting shops or off-licences. In the case of cultural participation, ACE's 'Taking Part' data is estimated at the MSOA level - too coarse a level of spatial resolution for the phase 2 regression models.

tiny literature on this kind of research at the interface between geography and ethnomusicology, but the facilities offered by GIS make it all the more possible (e.g. Lund, 2007).

### *Applying geographically weighted regression*

Tobler's first law of geography was quoted in Chapter 2, This law is a reminder that one cannot always assume that the relationship between predictor and outcome variables in a regression model will remain stationary over a given space, even within the confines of a single local authority. With increases in computing power, the last few years has seen the emergence of 'local' regression methods in which 'every observation has its own separate set of parameter estimates' (Charlton, 2012: 21). In particular, *Geographically Weighted Regression* (GWR) provides a means of identifying and exploring spatial patterns created when the local regression coefficients are mapped (Fotheringham *et al*, 2002) This allows the researcher to assess the strength of association between predictor and outcome variables for each region of the study area and to confirm or reject the presence of spatial heterogeneity within the data (Breitenecker and Harms, 2010). This is particularly useful when exploring socio-economic, cultural, institutional, motivational, demographic and ethnic differences since these factors may well exert different influences at different points within the study area. Harris *et al* (2010) is one example of where this methodology has successfully been applied to a high-resolution study of equality of opportunity within education.

Some of the models presented in Chapter 9 were more difficult to interpret than others, particularly with regard to the contribution of some of their constituent predictors. It may be that these models were suffering from a spatial variant of 'Simpson's Paradox', in which diverging local relationships between predictor and outcome variables are obscured by the global model as a whole (Bevan and Conolly, 2009). GWR may be a way to overcome these difficulties. The first step to confirming whether a regression model is appropriate for GWR analysis is to ensure a low level of multicollinearity and to establish the presence of spatial autocorrelation within model residuals. The latter can be tested via the R function *lm.morantest* from the package

*spdep* (Bivand *et al*, 2013; Bivand and Piras, 2015). In table 10.1, those models group 1 with statistically significant levels of residual autocorrelation are highlighted (no group 2 or 3 model was found to have autocorrelated residuals). Table 10.1 offers a pointer to where the research effort might now turn.

**Table 10.1** A summary of group 1 regression models, giving  $R^2$  and mean VIF (where applicable). The results of Moran's  $I$  tests for residual spatial autocorrelation are also given<sup>97</sup> and models with  $p < 0.05$  are printed in bold.

<i>Model</i>	<i>Model <math>R^2</math></i>	<i>Mean VIF for model (multivariate models)</i>	<i>Moran's test for residual spatial autocorrelation</i>	
			<i>I</i>	<i>P</i>
<b>SRLQ(L)</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>1.22</b>	<b>0.12063</b>	<b>&lt;0.01</b>
ERLQ	0.21	2.08	0.01201	0.3
TTY(L)	0.22	.	-0.01904	0.6
Av. Age at end of tuition	0.21	.	0.06385	0.1
Flute ILQ	0.10	.	0.04448	0.2
Violin ILQ	0.08	.	0.06241	0.1
<b>Guitar ILQ</b>	<b>0.33</b>	<b>2.39</b>	<b>0.10319</b>	<b>&lt;0.05</b>
<b>TYT</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>1.53</b>	<b>0.08755</b>	<b>&lt;0.05</b>
PST	0.19	1.24	0.07885	0.05
<b>PC_SouthAsian</b>	<b>0.62</b>	<b>1.26</b>	<b>0.11788</b>	<b>&lt;0.05</b>
<b>PC_Irish</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>1.34</b>	<b>0.1625</b>	<b>&lt;0.01</b>
<b>PC_Caribbean</b>	<b>0.13</b>	<b>2.88</b>	<b>0.14182</b>	<b>&lt;0.01</b>
PC_EndSp	0.23	1.09	0.05202	0.1

## Some final reflections

With regard to phase 1, the research proceeded on the basis that historical enquiry should inform an understanding of the present. This proved to be a successful strategy in both a general and a specific sense. In the general sense, the thoroughness of the historical documentary enquiry gave me confidence in the salience of the hidden barriers identified and provided

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<sup>97</sup> Calculated using the  
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powerful impetus for an exploration of the continuing pertinence of these barriers within phase 2. One important conclusion is that the successful removal of these barriers will involve far more than money. In variance with the many headlines over the years emphasising fears over funding crises and cuts and also to the continuing existence of a ‘deficit model’ of music education (c.f. the recent Channel 4 programme ‘Don’t Stop the Music’), I hope that this study has suggested that there are clear, long-standing socio-economic barriers which can be overcome successfully through careful, evidence-based practice.

In a more specific sense, the historical documentary enquiry allowed me to trace contemporary, pupil-level impacts of specific policy decisions, in some cases over many decades. Practical examples of these impacts can be found in figures 8.10 and 8.21. Both of these graphs attest in subtle ways to the implications of continuing legal ambiguity surrounding parental charging for instrumental tuition following the 1944 Education Act (Chapter 3). In figure 8.10, the small peak in pupils concluding their tuition at the end of the GCSE studies highlights fact that this tuition was delivered for free for pupils studying GCSE Music, a policy decision informed by the ERA, which in turn had sought to clarify matters following the 1981 court case. Similarly, in figure 8.21, the decline of voice provision in the case study authority was shown to coincide with the introduction of parental fees for singing lessons. This local change in music service policy was made possible by a change to legal precedent which had again been established by ERA.

It is my assertion that the findings of phase 2 support the use of the geospatial case study methodologies for future research in music education. It is an honour that some of the methods developed for this study have already found application in funded research (e.g. Welch *et al*, 2014). It is also gratifying to note that public expositions of the methods developed for this research (e.g. Purves, 2015; 2016) have been met favourably by the music education research community and have suggested that they may have wider applicability.

As noted above, research undertaken since the implementation of the NPME has continued to note the existence of geographical inequities. Yet despite many of these reports characterising these inequities as examples of a ‘postcode lottery’, none of them actually made practical use of postcode data to confirm this! With the prominent national debate and policy development within English music education over the past twenty years, it is easy to get caught up in a discussion of high-level philosophical, educational and political decision-making. A case study approach like that undertaken here serves to bring home to the researcher that these decisions have very *real* impacts for *real* young people up and down the land. It also serves as a reminder that seeking to bring these decisions to reality, service delivery can come up against very entrenched social and environmental barriers. A detailed case study can help prompt us to reconsider aspects of the debate that might have been taken for granted before, such as the weights of children’s instruments or the distances they have to travel to school.

It is hoped that this thesis has demonstrated the potential of the deviant idiographic case study approach as a means of facilitating enquiries into educational access and equality. Powerful geographical information systems and geospatial statistical analysis techniques are now available to music and education researchers. These can be accessed through a range of freely-available, open source packages (in this study: *QGIS*, *MySQL*, and *R*). In addition, a great deal of geocoded data is now made available by UK Government agencies at the LSOA and individual school levels. So far, the published studies making use of these techniques are few and far between (Müllensiefen *et al* (2014) and Brandellero and Pfeffer (2015) are two notable exceptions). Yet these techniques offer researchers and practitioners powerful new ways of interpreting and contextualising primary data and it is my prediction that they will become far more widespread in the years ahead.

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## **Appendix 1: Extract from the 'Fair Funding: Improving Delegation to Schools Consultation Document' relating to what would become the Music Standards Fund (DfEE, 1998a)**

The provision of music is a special case. Music services extend and enhance the *range* of pupils' educational experience. Music is not merely a source of enjoyment for children: it can also help them master aspects of the core curriculum, for example by strengthening their powers of concentration and reinforcing skills of numeracy. By developing children's creative abilities and awareness it makes a key contribution to the broad and balanced education that the Government is committed to delivering. The Government is determined to protect music's place in this country's education service.

The Government is aware that schools do much high quality work to give their pupils experience of music. LEAs also fund many excellent facilities and services to ensure that music opportunities are available to all pupils, whatever their school provides. The picture is, however, not universally rosy, as provision for music varies enormously from LEA to LEA. The Government is reluctant to adopt a policy whereby all the funds for music activities would be delegated automatically since there is a danger that some schools might not be able to offer the level of opportunity currently offered by their LEA.

It part, the danger is a result of economic factors. LEAs can take advantage of economies of scale; for example, it is far easier for an LEA than for a school (or even a consortium of schools) to run an academy of music. But the problem is also a financial one. A small primary school in financial difficulty, forced to cut non-statutory provision to protect funding for the national curriculum, could end up denying opportunities to pupils that might have been preserved were the money to have been retained centrally by the LEA.

The Government believes that the best way of safeguarding LEA music provision is to transfer responsibility for authority-wide funding of music services to the national level. Under this approach, LEA-wide facilities or entitlements would be the subject of applications from individual authorities to the DfEE's Standards Fund. LEAs currently funding such initiatives would be guaranteed full financial support for, say, three years in return for allowing the DfEE to top-slice these funds from their budgets. This would act to guarantee continuation of existing facilities free from local pressures. However, it would be for local authorities to decide whether any additional resources should be provided so as to go beyond that guaranteed level. As and when resources become available, the DfEE would top up the Standards Fund and invite applications for participation

in this arrangement from authorities which had continued to delegate their funds but at some subsequent time decided that it would be better to enter the national scheme. An LEA would stand more chance of being allowed to participate if its application demonstrated widespread support from the school in its area for collective provision. Clearly, co-operative arrangements between LEAs would be welcome if they increased the range of opportunities available to pupils.

(DfEE, 1998a: paras. 46-50)

## **Appendix 2 - preparing the case study music service data for analysis**

### **Supplied data format and scope**

Beginning in April 2003, the case study music service's tuition records were stored using a computer database package known as *Paritor Ensemble XP*. Paritor Ensemble is software specifically designed for local education music and performing arts services to store pupil and tuition records (Paritor. 2010: 2). Earlier data had been stored within Microsoft Excel spreadsheet files and were not available for the purposes of this research project.

Following a meeting with the Head of Service and Senior Administrator, the music service consented to export all records of instrumental and vocal tuition from the *Paritor* database for 2003-2004, through to November 2010 (the inception of the research activity). All data was supplied by the Service in an anonymised form through the removal of participant names. The data was delivered in a series of seven Microsoft Excel spreadsheets, each containing a full 'snapshot' of all records of ongoing instrumental/vocal tuition provision during the summer term of each academic year from 2004-05 to 2009-10 inclusive. Additionally, the 'Summer 2010.xls' file contained information on tuition until the time this file was exported from Paritor, i.e. November 2010. Table A1.1 summarises the number of tuition records in each supplied Excel file.



**Table A1.1** Overview of the annual Excel 'snapshot' files received from the case study music service on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2010.

<b>Annual snapshot file</b> (supplied file name and file size in kilobytes)	<b>Academic year covered</b>	<b>Number of individual tuition records contained in snapshot file</b>
Summer 2004.xls (205KB)	2003-04	1276
Summer 2005.xls (319KB)	2004-05	2086
Summer 2006.xls (382KB)	2005-06	2523
Summer 2007.xls (259 KB)	2006-07	1666
Summer 2008.xls (260KB)	2007-08	1667
Summer 2009.xls (246KB)	2008-09	1572
Summer 2010.xls (261KB)	2009-10+	1658
<b>Total records in all snapshot files</b>		<b>12448</b>

It is extremely important to note that the totals in Table A1.1 do not indicate the total number of *individual pupils* receiving music service tuition in a given year. This is because the music service database records the provision of *individual episodes of instrumental/vocal tuition* and does not group these by *individual pupil*. For instance, a single pupil may have received tuition on flute, voice and guitar, thereby generating three records within a single Excel 'snapshot' file (one per instrumental/vocal study). Additionally, since each Excel file is a 'snapshot' of the full range of tuition provision in a given summer term, pupils who received tuition over successive years appear repeatedly in successive Excel files. Furthermore, pupils whose lessons are terminated and subsequently restarted within the same academic year are represented with more than one record within a snapshot. Extensive further processing (described in detail below) was been necessary to cluster and filter these collective records into sets that describe the profile of individual *pupils*.

Table A1.2 provides a summary of the database 'fields' pertaining to each record in the set of Excel files, along with any specific notes relating to the range and nature of values stored within these.

<b>Table A1.2:</b> Summary of data supplied by the case study music service			
<b>Field names in Original Excel 'snapshot files'</b>	<b>Description of data held in field and notes</b>	<b>Summary of field values found in original Excel snapshot files</b>	<b>Notes on data coverage and quality</b>
School	School or other educational institution attended during the summer term of the snapshot year. Given the service provision model of the The case study music service, this is also very likely to have been the location of the instrumental/vocal tuition provision.	Data suppressed in published version due to confidentiality requirements	
Gender	Pupil gender	Male, Female	
PostCode	Full UK postcode in 8-character, single space <i>e-G/IF</i> [e-Government Interoperability Framework] format (ONS, 2010)	Data suppressed in published version due to confidentiality requirements	<p>24 records did not include postcodes.</p> <p>A further 98 records contained invalid postcodes (i.e. they were not recorded in the August 2010 ONSPD file).</p> <p>3 records included postcodes that placed the participant's home in a different region of the country. However, since these were valid postcodes they remain in the data set.</p>

<b>Table A1.2:</b> Summary of data supplied by the case study music service			
<b>Field names in Original Excel 'snapshot files'</b>	<b>Description of data held in field and notes</b>	<b>Summary of field values found in original Excel snapshot files</b>	<b>Notes on data coverage and quality</b>
DOB	Pupil date of birth in the format: DD/MM/YYYY	Valid dates of birth within this field ranged from between June 1986 to July 2002.	<p>171 records across the snapshot files did not have dates of birth listed.</p> <p>A further 199 records appeared to have dates of birth that did not correspond with school phase entry and leaving ages and therefore could not be considered valid for use within analyses based on values.</p>
EthnicGroup	Pupil's ethnic group.	Bangladeshi, Black-African , Black-Caribbean, Black-Other , Chinese , Indian , Mixed Race , Not declared, Other , Pakistani, White	The origins of the particular categorisation scheme in use remain unclear and the case study music were unable to clarify this when approached. However, there appear to be similarities with other ethnic group monitoring categorisations in use within the local authority.

<b>Table A1.2:</b> Summary of data supplied by the case study music service			
<b>Field names in Original Excel 'snapshot files'</b>	<b>Description of data held in field and notes</b>	<b>Summary of field values found in original Excel snapshot files</b>	<b>Notes on data coverage and quality</b>
Activity	Instrumental family or or other music service management grouping.	Asian , Brass , Guitar , Irish , Keyboard , Lower Strings , Percussion , 'SEN' , Steel Pans , Upper, Strings , Voice , Woodwind, Woodwind 2	The value 'SEN' relates to curricular support provided by music service staff within three special schools between 2003 and 2005. The difference between 'woodwind' and 'woodwind 2' was unclear. A small number of music service records listed activities that were inconsistent with the instrumental/vocal study. For instance, a clarinet lesson might have been allocated to a 'brass' activity'. As a result, the 'activity' data field was not used in any analysis in the present study.
StartDate	The date the instrumental/vocal tuition episode commenced in the format: DD/MM/YYYY	Valid start dates within this field ranged from between Sept 2002 to June 2010.	Records of music service tuition prior to April 2003 were exported to <i>Paritor Ensemble</i> from older <i>Microsoft Excel</i> files. In 1951 such records, tuition start dates for such pupils were not carried across to the new system and so it was not possible to ascertain an accurate start date for these. As a result, they have been excluded from any time-series analysis involving the start and end of tuition.

<b>Table A1.2:</b> Summary of data supplied by the case study music service			
<b>Field names in Original Excel 'snapshot files'</b>	<b>Description of data held in field and notes</b>	<b>Summary of field values found in original Excel snapshot files</b>	<b>Notes on data coverage and quality</b>
FinishDate	The date the instrumental/vocal tuition episode ended in the format: DD/MM/YYYY	Valid start dates within this field ranged from between April 2004 to November 2010.	1177 records of tuition had missing finish dates. These related to pupils continuing with their tuition beyond the periods covered by the snapshot files. Since it is possible to tell when and if these pupils will end their lessons, these records been excluded from any time-series analysis involving the start and end of tuition.
Instrument	The instrument or type of singing tuition being provided with this episode of tuition.	Values were: Accessories, Banjo, Baritone, Bassoon, Bodhran, Button Accordion, Cello, Clarinet, Cornet, Dhol, Double Bass, Euphonium, Flute, French Horn, Guitar, Harmonium, Keyboard, Mandolin, Misc, Oboe, Percussion, Plastic Starter Flute, Recorder, Santoor, Saxophone, Sitar, Steel Pans, Tabla, Tenor Horn, Tin Whistle, Trombone, Trumpet, Tuba, Uilleann Pipes, Viola, Violin, Voice - Asian, Voice - Western	A total of 79 records report the instrument under study as 'Misc', which is related to SEND curricular support provided by music service staff within three special schools between 2003 and 2005. 3 records list the instrument type as 'accessories' but it was not possible to which instrumental family this related to. In cases where the activity was listed as 'Irish' and the instrument was listed as 'violin', the instrument was recoded as 'fiddle' to ease comparison.

## Pre-processing the case study music service data

As noted above, data from the music service was supplied at 'tuition level' and not 'pupil level'. Since this research is focused on geodemographic perspectives it was essential to find a means of reliably clustering individual records of tuition together so that these records could be considered to represent an individual young person receiving music service instrumental/vocal teaching. Once done, the clustered records representing each young person needed to be stored in a relational database that offered the necessary flexibility to support the subsequent analysis.

A first step to generating pupil profiles from the tuition records was to take each individual Excel snapshot file and combine all of the records in each into one composite file for easier processing. In order to maintain a clear 'audit trail' back to the original, individual Excel files, two further database fields were added to those provided by the music service. Firstly, a 'unique record number' ('URN') was generated to give each record in the composite file a unique ID number. Secondly, a 'snapshot' field was added to contain a record of the original yearly snapshot file from which the record originated.

The composite set of records was then sorted in such a way so as to identify any duplicate records *within* a snapshot, in other words records containing exactly the same data in all fields. A total of 20 entirely duplicate records were so identified. There could only be two explanations for this duplication: either a record existed twice or more on the music service database through an administrative oversight or the duplicate records represented twins, triplets or other multiple birth siblings who had identical demographic details and who taken up tuition in the *same* instruments at the *same* time. Despite the apparent implausibility of the latter scenario, at least one case of multiple birth siblings simultaneously undertaking brass and percussion lessons with The case study music service was known to the researcher via professional experience. Moreover, since the national multiple maternity rate for 1996 (the most frequently occurring year of birth listed within the music service Dataset) was 14.5 in every 1000 births (1.45%) (ONS, 1998), there was a

reasonable probability that a minority of records in the music service Dataset would belong to multiple birth siblings. Since the data was received with no names associated with each tuition record it was not possible to ascertain which of these possibilities was correct. However, colleagues at the music service were able to confirm that only two of the twenty records were duplicates due to administrative oversight and that the other 18 were indeed cases of multiple birth siblings learning the same instruments at the same time.

Clustering a total of 12448 records by manual data-matching was obviously not a viable proposition and computer processing was essential. The basic premise on which this clustering was based was as follows: tuition records with identical personal information (specifically, dates of birth, gender, ethnic group and postcode) were considered to belong to the same music service pupil. Automating this approach through computer processing had two potential flaws: (1) multiple birth siblings with identical personal information could inadvertently be combined into one 'super person' and (2) music service pupils who moved house during the time-span of the tuition database would be counted as multiple pupils as the postcodes in the constituent tuition records would not all match.

With regard to potential flaw (1), since multiple birth siblings had already been identified by staff at the music service, it was straightforward to 'flag' these records for manual processing and thus take an awareness of these circumstances into account. With regard to potential flaw (2), it was reasoned that where a pupil moved house then, from the perspective of a geodemographic study, they effectively had a significantly changed profile and could legitimately be considered a 'different' individual. Without names associated with individual tuition records, it is of course impossible to know how many pupils may have moved to another address during the time-span of the database. However, official population data can offer at least a hint. Specifically, data derived from the 2001 census gives the total figure of 'migrants' moving *within* the bounds of the case study local authority as 11,794 (where the term 'migrant' is used to describe an individual who lived

at a different address one year before the date of the census)<sup>98</sup>. At this time, the total population of the case study local authority stood at 184,371<sup>99</sup>, suggesting that 6.4% of the population moved to another address within the town between April 2000 to April 2001. Nonetheless, whether this figure is representative of within-borough migration later in the decade, or of families whose children received music service tuition is impossible to know.

In order to facilitate tuition records clustering on the basis of data-matching personal information, two software utilities were specially written using the computer programming language *Perl* (Wall *et al.* 1996). The essential objective of these two utilities was to take the composite 'flat' spreadsheet file containing all tuition records, data match these based on personal information and submit the resulting clustered records to a new MySQL relational database in which information was stored with reference to *individual pupils*. Within this new database, pupils would be associated with one or more 'tuition episodes', defined within this research study as a discrete period of tuition on a particular instrument or voice. Thus, a participant who ceases tuition on an instrument only to re-start later on would generate two tuition episodes.

The program listings of both the utilities – `music serviceProc.pl` and `music servicemysqlimport.pl` – are provided in appendices 2 and 3. Beyond the core data-matching objective stated above, it was also necessary for these software utilities to filter, reformat, correct and validate the information contained within each record to ensure overall coherence in the data set and to offer confidence in the subsequent analysis phase of the research. This was a particular issue with regard to dates of birth and postcodes, which can always be subject to considerable formatting variation in real-world data. The collective functions of `music serviceProc.pl` and `music servicemysqlimport.pl` can be summarised within six categories:

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<sup>98</sup> See data source: Official for National Statistics, 2001a

<sup>99</sup> See data source: Official for National Statistics, 2001b  
Ross Purves  
July 2017



### **'Clean up' the original data as supplied:**

- Filter the values in each field to remove all extraneous space characters, apostrophes and carriage returns etc. These can cause problems when importing data into an MySQL database.
- Reformat dates to be in the MySQL standard layout of YYYY-MM-DD and remove the extraneous time [hh:mm] references present in some fields.
- Replace all blank DOB fields with 0000-00-00, the 'null' date value for MySQL databases.
- Replace all blank postcode fields with NULL, the 'missing' value for MySQL databases.
- Substitute 'fiddle' for 'violin' in cases where the instrument is the 'violin' but the activity is 'Irish' as opposed to 'strings'.

### **Conduct validation operations on the original data as supplied:**

- Check the validity of all dates of birth by cross-referencing them against calculated start and end dates of primary and secondary school careers.
- Reverse the day and month components of all invalid dates of birth to ascertain whether these have accidentally been entered into the database in 'American' format.
- Check the validity of all postcodes by confirming their presence in the August 2010 National Statistics Postcodes Directory.

### **Conduct data clustering operations:**

- Group individual records of tuition on the basis of four matching pieces of invariant personal information: date of birth, gender, ethnic group and postcode. Such a group is considered a unique 'participant'.
- Group all instruments played by each participant, identifying contiguous periods of tuition on the same instrument and combining these.
- Group all schools attended by each participant, identifying and removing duplicate listings in consecutive snapshots.

**Calculate and generate further data fields for each pupil:**

- Create a unique, 'pupil reference number' for each participant identified by data matching tuition records (stored as the 'PRN' field in the MySQL database). Additionally, list the records that together have constituted a participant's profile (stored as 'CompURNs') and provide a total number of constituent records (stored as 'TotalURNs').
- Create a 'flag' field to indicate whether a period of tuition appears to have begun before the database was created. This allows such records to be excluded from time-series analysis relating to start dates of tuition (stored as 'LEStartBeforeFlag' in MySQL database).
- Create a 'flag' field to indicate whether a period of tuition appears to have continued beyond the date at which the data was exported, i.e. beyond the end of the last 'snapshot' file (taken as being 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2010 - one week before the files were received). This allows such records to be excluded from time-series analysis relating to end dates of tuition (stored as 'LEContinuerFlag' in MySQL database).
- Identify the first and last original Excel 'snapshot' in which records of tuition appear for a participant. These are useful for cross-referencing participants to their constituent tuition records (stored as 'FirstSnapshot' and 'LastSnapshot' respectively in the MySQL database).
- Calculate the total number of unique instruments (including voice) learned by each participant (stored as 'TotalUniqInstruments' in the MySQL database).
- Calculate the total number of '*tuition episodes*' for each participant (stored as 'TotalLearningEpisodes' in the MySQL database).
- Calculate a *tuition episode*/instrument quotient (stored as 'InstCoeff'), defined as the total number of *tuition episodes* divided by the total number of unique instruments studied (including voice). This figure provides a quick indication of whether a pupil broke off tuition at some point in their music service career. For instance, a quotient of 1 indicates that the number of instruments studied is the same as the number of *tuition episodes* in which these were studied. Figures less

than 1 indicate that they interrupted tuition on at least one instrument or voice.

- Calculate a date of birth 'confidence quotient' (stored as DOBConfCoeff) based on the validity of a pupil's given date of birth. This is calculated by cross-referencing dates of birth against the calculated start and end dates of each primary and secondary school attended. Where a pupil's DOB confidence quotient equals 1 there can be a high confidence that the supplied date of birth is correct since they could have attended all the listed schools during the calculated academic years. Where a pupil's DOB confidence quotient is less than one, then the pattern of school attendance suggested by their tuition records are in variance with the expected academic years (e.g. they were too old to attend a primary school but are listed as doing so). Only pupils with a DOB confidence quotient of 1 are included in analysis relating to dates of birth.
- Look-up and list the Department for Education's (2014) 'Edubase' school unique reference number for each school attended by a pupil (stored as 'SchoolURN'). This makes subsequent analysis on the basis of school-level data more straightforward as it allows for data-matching with many official Department for Education datasets.
- Calculate the total number of schools attended by each pupil (stored as 'TotalSchools').
- List the original supplied Excel snapshot file in which each pupil's schools first appeared (stored as 'SchoolSnapYear').

#### **Alert the user to any unusual or strange patterns of data:**

- Alert the user to any pupils who have attended more than two schools. The norm within the data should be for pupils to attend either one school (a primary or a secondary) or two schools (a primary school and, subsequently, a secondary). Pupils listed as having attending more than one type of school, or primary and secondary schools in the wrong order may point to an underlying problem with data quality.
- Alert the user to any pupils who had undertaken more than three *tuition episodes* or studied more than three unique instruments. Whilst

it is possible for pupils to receive tuition on a such range of instruments, it is unusual and, again, might point to underlying problems with the source data.

- Submit the final pupil record to the new database
- Submit the final, checked and correctly-formatted pupil-based record to the MySQL relational database.

In summary, the data-matching process reduced 12448 'raw' records of tuition to 6350 pupil profiles. The core data in each profile can be processed further to derive additional useful parameters, e.g. total tuition time for all instruments/voice. As a means of illustrating these collective data-matching, filtering and processing procedures, Appendix 1 includes eight examples of clusters of 'raw' individual tuition records as received from the music service along with corresponding, computer-processed pupil profiles.

### **Auditing the data-matching process and checking the resulting pupil profiles**

As a result of these collective data-matching, filtering and processing procedures, the 12448 tuition records as originally supplied by The case study music service were found to 'belong' to 6350 individual pupils who were active instrumental or vocal learners with the Service at some point between September 2002 and November 2010.

Although the two computer programs used to process and data-match the individual tuition records had been well-tested, it was important to confirm the validity of the essential data-matching algorithm employed (based on clustering records with the same dates of birth, ethnic groups, postcodes and genders). It was also important to check that all extraneous 'noise' in the original data (in the form of miscoding, typographical errors etc) had been handled correctly by the programs. In short, human audits of the resulting pupil profiles were required to establish beyond all doubt that these were entirely accurate representations of the individual young people receiving tuition from The case study music service between September 2002 and November 2010. Without undertaking such an audit, it would be impossible to be sure that the two computer programs had not generated 'chimera' pupil

profiles, due either to fundamental errors in the data-matching algorithm or discrepancies in the source data. Two such 'human' audits were undertaken.

### *Manual audit 1*

In the first manual audit – undertaken by the researcher – the resulting database of pupil profiles was interrogated using SQL queries for all profiles with outlying or inconsistent parameters. Specifically, a total of 561 pupil profiles were manually checked as a result of their matching one or more of the following criteria:

- where a pupil's DOB confidence quotient was  $>0$  and  $<1$ . Such a figure would suggest discrepancies in the school listings within the constituent tuition records forming this pupil profile;
- where the total number of schools attended by a pupil exceeded 2. Since it is the norm for pupils to attend one primary/junior school and one secondary, a greater number of schools attended may suggest an incorrect agglomeration of tuition records. On the other hand, there could be a perfectly reasonable explanation for such a scenario, stressing the need for human auditing;
- where a pupil's instrument/*tuition episode* quotient as  $<1$ . In such instances, the pupil would have interrupted their instrumental/vocal tuition for some reason. It was important to check the nature of each such interruption to ensure that it remained consistent with the overall profile of a young person learning with the music service (e.g. not an inexplicably extended or momentary hiatus);
- where the direct, geodesic distance<sup>100</sup> between a pupil's home and each of their schools lay beyond twice the standard deviation of the mean distance between all pupils' homes and schools. The rationale for this check was to ensure a reasonable explanation for any pupil listed as attending a school a significant distance from their home (to attend a school with a certain religious character, for instance).

Conversely, where there was no reasonable explanation, there was a

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<sup>100</sup> Commonly referred to in English-speaking countries by the term 'as the crow flies'.  
 Ross Purves  
 July 2017

theoretical chance that records from diverse areas of the locality under study had been incorrectly agglomerated.

In the event, reasonable explanations could be derived for all of the pupil profiles selected on the basis of these criteria and so attention moved on to a second human audit.

### *Manual audit 2*

The second audit was intended to check for less tangible, more subjective discrepancies of a type that could only come to light through personal and professional wisdom and close knowledge of the local area. In this second audit, the services of a close friend and trusted colleague were engaged to manually check the pupil profiles.

The auditor's background, experience and expertise made her particularly well-suited to this task. She was a third-generation resident of the case study town whose family had been living in the area for a century or more. She had attended local primary and secondary schools (both of which were well-represented in the data supplied by the The case study music service) and had herself received music service tuition for four years as a clarinettist. During this period, and for some time afterwards, she had performed in a range of music service ensembles, attended the Service's Saturday morning 'Music School' and undertaken a European tour with the Youth Orchestra. Following graduation from a music degree, she had taken on a professional music education role within the case study borough. This role had involved close liaison with music service personnel. Additionally, she remained active on the local amateur performing scene. The brief given to this auditor was to review the pupil profiles, mediating the information relating to schools, instrumental choices and episodes of tuition through her extensive local knowledge and wisdom accrued as a professional musician. As such, there were no formal criteria set for this audit, beyond a general instruction to move freely through the profiles and query anything that appeared out-of-place or that could not be reasonably explained from her distinctive, local viewpoint.

Clearly, it would have been very difficult for this auditor to have checked all 6530 pupil profiles in this way. Consequently, a subset of 550 randomly-selected pupil profiles were selected for review. This figure was selected following the application of Hanley's 'Rule of Three', a statistical method for calculating appropriate sample size (Hanley *et al*, 1983). This has been used very widely within the fields of medical research and clinical governance (e.g. de Lacey *et al*, 2000). More recently, the rule has found many applications in fields where it is necessary to manually validate samples of very large, computer-processed datasets (see Mansfield & Wayman, 2002; Aslam *et al*, 2007a). In this particular instance, Aslam *et al*'s (2007a; 2007b) refinements to Hanley's original calculation were applied in order to derive an appropriate manual audit sample size on the basis of an acceptable 'error rate' (b) of 1 in 200 (i.e. <0.5%)<sup>101</sup>. In other words, it was intended that this second manual audit would be thorough enough to detect one incorrectly constituted pupil profile in every 200 correctly constituted profiles. For values  $n = 6350$ ,  $b = 33$  (i.e. <0.5% of 6336) and a confidence level (c) of 95%, Aslam's refined Rule of Three calculation produced a suggested audit sample size of 550 profiles. A selection of 550 profiles was randomly selected from the total number in the MySQL database. The data for each of these profiles were formatted for screen-based reading using a Microsoft Office 'mail merge' template (see Appendix 1 for examples of this format).

The results of this second audit highlighted several minor inconsistencies with the start and finish dates contained with the original source tuition records but confirmed that the computer programs written to process these records had interpreted these inconsistencies successfully. Beyond this, however, this second manual audit confirmed that the manner in which individual tuition records had been clustered was appropriate, and that the resulting pupil profiles were overwhelmingly accurate in terms of realistic patterns of home location, school choice and attendance, and instrumental choice and tuition. A tiny minority of data inconsistencies that remained in the data were explained by either slight discrepancies in source data or

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<sup>101</sup> This figure is recommended as a suitably 'stringent' and 'very small' error rate in Rule of Three calculations by Harding (2006).

genuinely unusual or outlying pupil profiles. In any case, the error rate for these remaining records was calculated well below the 0.5% suggested by Harding (2006).



## Appendix 3 - Instrument nomenclature lookup table

The following lookup table enabled cross-referencing between case study data instrument categorisations and those used in Hallam *et al*'s (2005) survey. Where it was not possible to match instruments from one of the two data sets, this is shown by 'NA'.

Case Study data instrument nomenclature	Hallam <i>et al</i> (2005) instrument nomenclature
Accessories	NA
NA	African drumming
Bassoon	Bassoon
Banjo	NA
Baritone	Baritone
Bodhran	NA
Button Accordion	NA
Cello	Cello
Clarinet	Clarinet
Cornet	Cornet
Dhol	NA
Double bass	Double bass
Euphonium	Euphonium
Flute	Flute
French horn	French horn
NA	Gamelan
NA	Guitar (acoustic)
NA	Guitar (electric)
NA	Guitar (electric bass)
NA	Guitar (not separated)
Guitar	Guitar all
Harmonium	NA
NA	Harp
Keyboard	Keyboard
NA	Kit drums
Mandolin	NA

Case Study data instrument nomenclature (cont.)	Hallam <i>et al</i> (2005) instrument nomenclature (cont.)
Misc	NA
NA	Music Technology
Oboe	Oboe
NA	Percussion (orchestral)
NA	Piano
Plastic Starter Flute	NA
Recorder	Recorder
Santoor	NA
Saxophone	Saxophone
Sitar	Sitar
Steel Pans	Steel Pans
Tabla	Tabla
Tenor Horn	Tenor Horn
Tin Whistle	NA
Trombone	Trombone
Trumpet	Trumpet
Tuba	Tuba
Uilleann Pipes	NA
Voice - Asian	Voice
Voice - Western	Voice
Viola	Viola
Violin	Violin
NA	Other Piccolo/fife
NA	Other Flugel horn
NA	Other unspecified

## Appendix 4 - Further details regarding the IMD2010 'Income Deprivation Domain' and the 'Children and Young People Subdomain'

### Income Deprivation Domain

A combined count of income deprived individuals per Lower Layer Super Output Area (LSOA) is calculated by summing the following five indicators:

- Adults and children in Income Support families,
- Adults and children in income-based Jobseeker's Allowance families
- Adults and children in Pension Credit (Guarantee) families
- Adults and children in Child Tax Credit families (who are not claiming Income Support, income-based Jobseeker's Allowance or Pension Credit) whose equivalised income (excluding housing benefits) is below 60% of the median before housing costs
- Asylum seekers in England in receipt of subsistence support, accommodation support, or both.

The combined count of income deprived individuals per LSOA forms the numerator of an income deprivation rate which is expressed as a proportion of the total LSOA population (McLennan *et al*, 2011: 19).

### Children and Young People Subdomain

The indicators

- *Key Stage 2 attainment*: The average points score of pupils taking English, maths and science Key Stage 2 exams.
- *Key Stage 3 attainment*: The average points score of pupils taking English, maths and science Key Stage 3 exams.
- *Key Stage 4 attainment*: The average capped points score of pupils taking Key Stage 4 (GCSE or equivalent) exams.
- *Secondary school absence*: The proportion of authorised and unauthorised absences from secondary school.
- *Staying on in education post 16*: The proportion of young people not staying on in school or non-advanced education above age 16.
- *Entry to higher education*: The proportion of young people aged under 21 not entering higher education...

The indicator is expressed as an average points score for the particular Key Stage. The numerator is the total score of pupils taking English, maths and science exams in 2006-07 and 2007-08 in an LSOA. The denominator is the total number of subjects (exams) taken by pupils for the same years as the numerator.

The data were supplied by the Department for Education from the National Pupil Database. Two years of data were used to reduce the problems of small numbers, and 2007-08 was the latest year of data that could be used in order to maintain consistency with the ID2007 due to a change in pupil assessment in the 2008-09 academic year (McLennan *et al*, 2011: 31-32).